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THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME 2

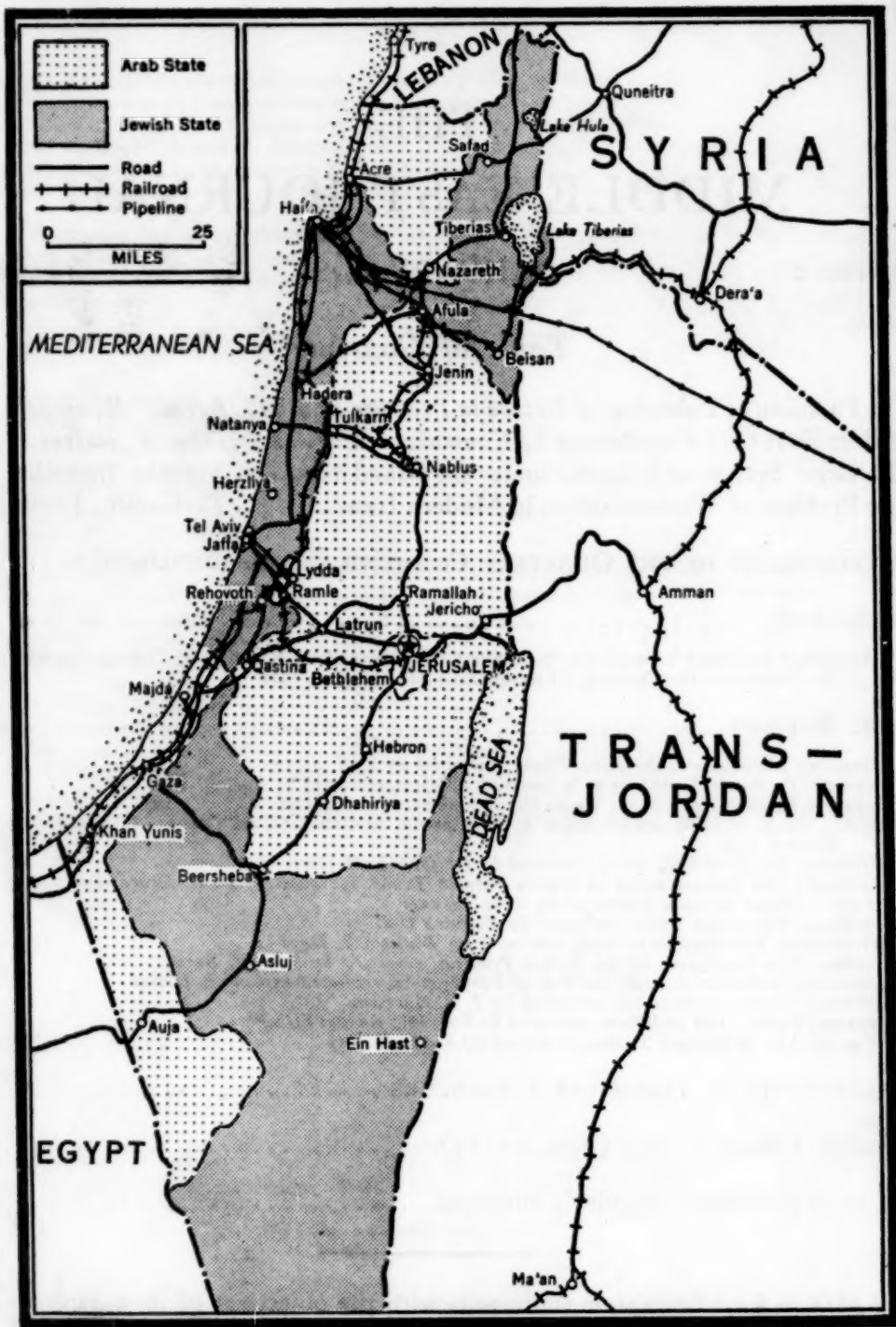
JANUARY 1948

NUMBER 1

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The Partition of Palestine, 1947

*As recommended by the General Assembly of United Nations,
November 29*

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JANUARY 1948

NUMBER I

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

A Lesson in Pressure Politics

Kermit Roosevelt

PRIOR TO the entry of the United States into World War II, American interests in the Middle East were largely private interests privately advanced. The commercial relations and philanthropic activities which American citizens and organizations had developed were such as to win for the United States a unique regard and respect, especially among the peoples of the Arab world. Some Americans have also, since World War I, given extensive financial and moral support to the Zionist cause in Palestine. As with American activity elsewhere in the Middle East, this support was offered, until recently, for humanitarian rather than political ends, and with little concern

▼ KERMIT ROOSEVELT travelled widely throughout the Arab world, Turkey, and Iran for five months during the spring and summer of 1947. Through his conversations with both political leaders and the common people, he gained an intimate understanding of the Arab scene and of the role the United States is playing in the Middle East generally.

for the national interests of the United States. The disinterestedness of the American Government was generally recognized, and only the highest motives were attributed to it.

During World War II the position of the United States in the Middle East changed in two respects. First, its economic and strategic interests in the area assumed obvious and increased importance. A national Middle East policy became for the first time an imperative necessity. Secondly, American support of Zionism grew more and more official in character, committing not merely groups of American citizens but the government as well. At the same time, the cause supported came to be a political rather than a purely humanitarian one: this dual development climaxed in the aggressive support given by the United States Government and private citizens at the United Nations General Assembly to the proposed partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish political state.

Are these two processes — recognition of national interests in the Middle East and support of political Zionism — complementary or antagonistic? Almost all Americans with diplomatic, educational, missionary, or business experience in the Middle East protest fervently that support of political Zionism is directly contrary to our national interests, as well as to common justice. How then is our policy to be explained? Parts of the explanation — perhaps the most interesting parts — are still well-kept secrets. But enough is already clear to make an instructive, and disturbing, story.

II

In 1922, by Joint Resolution, the United States Congress proclaimed "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."¹

¹Text in Esco Foundation for Palestine, *Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies* (2 vols., New Haven, 1947), vol. 1, p. 252.

This resolution differs in several respects from the Balfour Declaration.² For example, the American declaration fails to include specific protection of "the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country." The most significant difference is that while the British promised to "use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object" [the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people], Congress simply "favors" it.

The United States also concluded a convention with Great Britain concerning Palestine in December 1924, but its purpose was to assure to American citizens the same rights in Palestine as those granted to nationals of states belonging to the League of Nations.³ In conversations with British representatives and British Zionists, State Department officials made it clear that the United States Government considered Zionism as a private enterprise and nothing more.

In general this continued to be the position of the United States Government in the period between the wars. So long as Britain was strong in the Middle East, and so long as the political leadership of Zionism remained with English Jews, all that Zionists required from the United States was financial assistance from private individuals and resolutions of support from the government.

However, Zionist need of United States support began to grow more acute during the nineteen-thirties as Britain's Palestine policy reflected a growing realization that full support could not be given the Zionists without damaging Arab interests and antagonizing not only Palestinian Arabs but the Arab states as well. In 1939, the British change in policy was expressed in a White Paper placing a definite limit upon Jewish immigration into Palestine, and seriously restricting the land purchase program of the Zionists already there.⁴ What the Zionists wanted first of all appeared to be American pressure upon the British: British action, rather than direct American action, was still the main goal. But as the course of war seemed to spell the end of

² Text in *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 107.

³ For text, see Department of State, *Mandate for Palestine* (Washington, 1931).

⁴ Great Britain, *Palestine, Statement of Policy*, Cmd. 6019 (1939).

Britain's imperial might, many Zionists decided Britain was too weak a reed on which to rely. Some turned to Russia, but the majority saw their greater hope in the United States. This trend became explicit in 1942 with the visit of Ben Gurion, Chairman of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Weizmann, and other Zionist leaders to the United States. On May 11, at an assembly of American Zionists in New York, the so-called "Biltmore Program" was approved. It called for the recognition of a Jewish Commonwealth and a Jewish army, urged that responsibility for immigration into Palestine be removed from Britain and vested in the Jewish Agency, and denounced the White Paper of 1939.⁵ Although many Jews in Palestine and the United States opposed the Biltmore Program,⁶ a committee of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization finally endorsed it by a large majority in November 1942. From that moment on the Zionists' efforts were directed toward making use of the United States as, in the past, they had made use of Great Britain.

Zionist pressure to this end was exerted systematically and on a large scale. In 1942 and 1943 resolutions supporting Zionism were introduced in numerous state legislatures. There being no organized opposition, and also no commitment binding the states to any given action, most of these resolutions were passed in routine fashion. This concerted Zionist drive to commit the United States by sheer number of resolutions included also the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., as well as numerous religious and charitable bodies. Many Senators and Congressmen were induced to give public support to Zionism, but a Congressional resolution on the subject was shelved in 1944 at the request of General Marshall. The Chief of Staff had inquired of our mili-

⁵ Text in Esco Foundation, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1084.

⁶ It is not within the scope of this discussion to trace the development of dissenting groups among the Zionists. Mention might be made, however, of the League for Arab-Jewish Rapprochement, active in fostering the bi-national concept; the Ihud, founded in Jerusalem in 1942 under the leadership of Dr. Judah Magnes and committed to the same general principle; and in the United States the American Jewish Committee, following somewhat similar lines. At the opposite end of the Zionist scale were the Revisionist extremists: the New Zionist Organization and the Jewish State Party, both advocating the establishment of a Jewish state comprising Transjordan as well as Palestine. Opposition to a Jewish commonwealth, as outlined in the Biltmore Program, came also from anti-Zionist groups, notably the American Council for Judaism, which has consistently repudiated the concept of a Jewish political state in its entirety.

tary attachés in the Middle East whether they thought its passage would damage the war effort. On the basis of their replies he concluded that reaction to the resolution would limit the military contribution which could be made from the Middle East to the invasion of France, for if it were passed British and other Allied troops, which could otherwise be used in establishing the Second Front, would be needed to maintain order there. The net result would be a greater drain on American troops and resources.

The proposed resolution stated that "the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."⁷ This was the first official resolution which would have involved expenditure of United States strength in support of Zionism. A few days after it had been shelved, President Roosevelt, following a visit from Zionist leaders, issued a statement supporting Zionist aspirations; but this, like the local state resolutions, involved no immediate action by the United States. Nevertheless, the President's statement marked a significant development. Hereafter, policy on Palestine began to be made in the White House, often against the express advice of the War, Navy, and State Departments, in which opposition to a policy committing the United States to support of Zionism continued, and perhaps increased.

The next step in the growing reliance of the Zionists on the United States was the substitution, in the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization, of American for British leaders. This was not a wholly peaceable operation. Britain had been, and was still, the active agent in Zionism — the power responsible under the League of Nations mandate for the administration of Palestine. However, aside from the fact that British Zionists were at a disadvantage in appealing to American Jews, it was becoming clear that American Zionists, through the United States Government, could bring more pressure on the British

⁷ Text in Esco Foundation, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1115. A similar resolution was finally passed by Congress in December 1945.

Government than British Zionists either could or were willing to do. British Zionists would seem to have been aware — as, indeed, British citizens should be — to some extent at least of *British* as well as *Zionist* interests, and were frequently reluctant to urge their government to adopt courses of action advocated by the more aggressive Americans. It was becoming increasingly difficult for them to reconcile British over-all interests with the program of such extremists.

The result was that British Zionists became a moderating force in Zionism at a time when extremism was riding high. Their inhibitions as British citizens put them at a disadvantage compared to American Zionists, whose country had no such long established tradition of interests and policies in the Middle East. The climax of the struggle came at the Basle Conference in December 1946, when the conciliatory policy advocated by the grand old man of Zionism, British scientist Chaim Weizmann, was defeated. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's promises of American support carried the day — and the final vote of the UN Assembly proved his ability to deliver what he had promised.

Whether the campaign to gain American support was good either for Zionism or the Jewish community in general is still a question. The trend it took has widened the gap between Zionist Jews and those considerable numbers of American Jews who fervently oppose setting their race apart as a national group. The extensive publicity attendant upon the Zionist struggle also has made non-Jewish Americans increasingly conscious of the presence of Jews among them and has raised the specter of increased anti-Semitism. So far as their position in Palestine is concerned, the Zionists exchanged the protection of Great Britain and the British army for a United Nations recommendation which the United States, although voting in its favor, may be unwilling or unable to implement.

The answer depends in large measure on the extent to which Zionist aims are beneficial or detrimental to the interests of the United States. For if the American public decides that Zionist pressure has forced this country into difficult straits, the reaction will be quick and unmistakable. The Zionists will then have lost their last powerful friend.

III

At the same time that American Zionist groups were assuming the lead in the fight for a Jewish state and endeavoring to commit the United States Government to its support, the pattern of American interests in the Middle East was being clearly outlined by the events of World War II.

The most dramatic of these was the near loss of the Middle East by Allied forces to the Axis armies of General Rommel. The British victory at Al-Alamein was made possible in part by the American decision to send military supplies to Egypt at a time when MacArthur and the Russians were pleading for all we could send them. Both MacArthur and the Russians had powerful friends in Washington, but none could deny the tremendous importance of the Middle Eastern theater to the war as a whole.

German strategy was at fault in not allocating greater forces and matériel to the desert drive. But the German General Staff cannot be accused of underestimating the significance of the area. Captured documents show that the Germans had planned an overwhelming spring campaign in 1943 which was to give them control of the Persian Gulf. The German plans went no further; the General Staff was confident that once Germany held the Middle East, it would have won the war as a whole. With plenty of oil, and its enemies effectively split, the futility of further resistance would be plain to all.

Other captured documents show that to gain the Dardanelles and a foothold in the Middle East, Russia was willing in 1940 to join the Axis and in 1943 to sign a separate peace with Germany. But even then, when the Nazi decline was well underway, Berlin found these demands too steep. Post-war developments make it clear, however, that the Russians have not abandoned the goal. They have tried in Greece, in Turkey, and in Iran to advance toward it. Only the most determined opposition by Britain and the United States has held them in check. It seems logical to conclude that the Soviet support of the partition of Palestine represents Russia's most recent move toward that long established end.

If this conclusion be correct, as many observers believe, the Russian decision on partition was calculated to achieve three objectives: to strengthen the Soviet Union among Zionists everywhere; to gain a military foothold in the Middle East, on the assumptions that partition must be imposed by force and that force used for this purpose by UN must involve Russian participation; and most important, to ensure chaos and confusion in the Middle East by creating, against Arab opposition, a Jewish state surrounded by Arabs. A further reason is suggested by the tone of Russian speeches at UN, which seemed bent on establishing the *principle* of partition. They pleaded the right of a minority to separate itself from the majority and form its own state. Application of this principle to Azerbaijanis and Macedonians, to Kurds and Armenians and other Middle East minorities would suit the Soviets well. The Iron Curtain could be drawn over the Persian Gulf and the Eastern Mediterranean by process of partition as well as by any other means.

That the State Department took Soviet Russia into account when considering the Palestine question was one of the accusations made by Mr. Bartley Crum in recounting his experiences as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in 1946.⁸ Yet the seriousness of this offense is difficult to comprehend. Surely an important State Department responsibility is to warn our top officials of pitfalls which will endanger American interests abroad.

If a position in the Middle East was essential to winning the war against Germany, we are now learning that it is equally essential to winning the peace against Soviet Russia. The strategic importance of the lands embracing the eastern Mediterranean cannot be exaggerated, for the area provides a base of operations at the hub of three continents. If an aggressive power became dominant in it, whether by conquest in time of war or by infiltration and revolution in time of peace, the security of a far wider zone would be threatened. The United States can fight against such an eventuality by taking direct action, as it has attempted to do in Iran, Turkey, and Greece, to block the spread of Russian influence toward the Middle East. It can also fight

⁸ Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain* (New York, 1947), pp. 7-8, 31 ff.

against it by following a policy calculated to assure the political stability and social and economic advancement of the Middle Eastern peoples.

Among other factors which have assumed for the United States new and vital significance in the Middle East are its oil deposits. These deposits are generally recognized to be the greatest pool of oil in the world. If properly developed they could provide Europe with cheap power for the next century. Their importance in the Marshall Plan has been clearly implied but not emphasized. The plan provides for the expenditure of over a billion dollars to reconstruct and expand Europe's refineries and other oil installations. These had best be supplied in large measure with Middle Eastern oil, because oil from there can reach Europe more cheaply than from the Western Hemisphere, and because its use would enable the nations of North and South America to save their resources against a day when no other supplies might be available to them.

Alongside the newer considerations of strategic and commercial interests stands the long tradition of America's disinterestedness in the domestic political affairs of other peoples and its profession of democratic idealism, best expressed in the Middle East through the philanthropic work of private American organizations. It is very much in the national interest of the United States that the "reservoir of goodwill" engendered by such activity not be squandered. It is the very antithesis of American tradition to play a partisan role in fixing the political destiny of the Arab peoples, especially one in opposition to the expressed wishes of a population's majority. Millions of Middle Easterners regard our official sponsorship of a Jewish state in Palestine as "un-American"; persistence in such a policy will undermine the moral prestige of the United States in this area for years to come.

It is such considerations as these that are very much on the minds of American planners, and it is proper that they should be. They also pose a question which all Americans, Zionists or otherwise, should ponder: Will the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine jeopardize the position of the United States in the Middle East? When all factors are taken into account it is difficult to arrive at anything but an affirmative answer, for the

establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine will disrupt the Arab world and ease the path of Soviet infiltration.

IV

By early 1946 it was clear that the United States had acquired many of the same broad national interests in the Middle East that Britain had had for generations. Peace and security in the area having become important to us, it followed that we should logically share responsibilities there as well. But whereas British Zionists, out of their longer experience, have both perceived and attempted to reconcile the divergence between the welfare of Britain and the advancement of Zionism, recognition of the new situation has not led to a moderation of Zionism in the United States. Quite the contrary.

The end of the war removed the military considerations which had blocked the 1944 Congressional resolution on Palestine. Universal sympathy for the distress and suffering of Europe's displaced persons heightened the emotional appeal of Zionism, although its opponents pointed out that only a portion of them were Jews. They questioned further whether Palestine, or such countries as Brazil, Australia, or the United States, could best provide homes for these refugees. They argued that there was no necessary connection between the humanitarian problem of succoring the displaced persons of Europe and the political problem of creating a new nationalist state in Palestine. Finally, they asked whether it was just to make the Arabs atone for Europe's sins. However, the Zionists were not to be balked in their aims.

In May 1945 Zionist spokesmen at the San Francisco Conference, in furtherance of the Biltmore Program, urged that the United Nations immediately recognize a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The UN did not place the item on its agenda, but in August 1945 a World Zionist Conference, meeting in London, endorsed the program and on August 31 President Truman wrote Prime Minister Attlee suggesting that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine at once to relieve the suffering in Europe. Attlee rejected the suggestion, but proposed that an Anglo-American Committee be appointed to study the entire subject.

In April 1946 the Committee presented a unanimous report

recommending the admission of 100,000 as suggested by President Truman and denying the exclusive claim of Arabs or Jews to a state in Palestine. The report rejected partition as a solution and proposed instead continuance of the mandate, "pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations," until existing hostilities shall disappear. The ultimate form of government was vaguely described: "Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew," and the religious rights of Christian, Moslem, and Jew were to be protected in Palestine.⁹

Taken as a whole, the report was an honest effort to grapple with a difficult problem. But almost no one took it as a whole. Zionists found it generally unacceptable except for the recommendation that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately. It is interesting to note that President Truman's public comment singled out that particular recommendation for praise, together with two lesser aspects of the report also favorable to Zionism. Of the rest he remarked that it "deals with many other questions of long-range political policies and international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement."¹⁰

Another aspect of the report is of great interest and, one hopes, of significance for the future. Certain American members of the Committee were reputed to be Zionist sympathizers before their appointment. Meeting as members of a responsible body representing the United States Government and, therefore, overall American interests, they joined in approval of a report which went in many respects contrary to Zionist policy. As responsible public officials, in other words, they determined *against* the creation of a Jewish political state in Palestine. Later, as private citizens exposed again to the pressures of political Zionism, they modified their stand. But this does not change, it rather underlines, the significance of the Committee's unanimous vote.

The British Government refused to discuss execution of only one of the Committee's proposals — the famous 100,000 — apart from the rest. Another group of Americans and British there-

⁹ For text and pertinent documents, see Department of State, *Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry: Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom* (Washington, 1946).

¹⁰ *New York Times*, May 1, 1946, p. 14.

upon assembled in London to discuss ways of carrying out the whole report. In August they come out with a report of their own providing for a complicated cantonal arrangement, which was promptly rejected by Arabs and Zionists and buried with little comment by the American Government. The White House obviously disapproved.

Yet 1946 was an election year, and some stand would have to be taken. On October 4, President Truman issued a statement calling again for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. He also supported the Jewish Agency proposal for "the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine. . . ." ¹¹

The story behind this statement is simple, and was partially reported at the time.¹² Messrs. Mead and Lehman, good Democrats, were waging a losing campaign for Governor and Senator respectively in New York State. Political leaders believe, though this has never been tested, that Zionists in New York would vote as a bloc and might win or lose an election. In the heat of the campaign, Mead and Lehman informed the White House that a statement favoring Zionism *must* be made immediately, for Dewey, Mead's opponent, was reported to be on the point of issuing one himself.¹³ The White House referred the matter for drafting to the State Department, but was not satisfied with State's first effort. Meanwhile New York called again: if President Truman did not issue a statement, Mead and Lehman would do so, publicly calling upon Mr. Truman to support it. Working under great pressure — domestic political pressure logically unrelated to Palestine — the October 4 statement was produced. It turned out to be one of the most disturbing and fateful ever made about Palestine.

It was disturbing because it emphasized, more dramatically than ever before, but not for the first or last time, the blatant way in which local political concerns may determine American foreign policy. Even the timing was obvious — not only close to

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1946, p. 2.

¹² See the article by James Reston in *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1946, p. 4.

¹³ On Oct. 6 Mr. Dewey called for the admission of "not 100,000 but several hundreds of thousands" of Jews into Palestine. *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1946, p. 5.

election day, but on the eve of an important Jewish religious festival. Many Jews deplored this appeal to deep religious sentiment for obviously political purposes.

It was fateful because of its effect upon the British, who were patiently conducting meetings in London trying to work out a solution and whose negotiations were thrown into confusion by the unexpected intrusion. Mr. Bevin expressed himself strongly at the time, and feeling lingers on. A recent *New York Times* dispatch reports: "The British Government appears to feel that Britain had been well on the way toward a solution of the crisis there [in Palestine] on a cantonal basis when President Truman upset the appercart by making his speech demanding the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews."¹⁴ The effort to win New York votes by promises on Palestine convinced the British that they could not rely on responsible American action in support of a solution there. Once they had reached that conclusion, their withdrawal from the scene was inevitable.

The statement was fateful also because, in President Truman's mind, it committed the United States to thorough-going support of partition. Its genesis also re-emphasized the role that was to be allowed the State Department in the formulation of Palestine policy. Shortly after the statement appeared, White House officials warned State that Department personnel must not criticize their government's position. Later, Secretary Byrnes was questioned on what he proposed to do about Palestine. He replied that he had nothing to do with it, he just carried messages.

The final act in the partition of Palestine was played out at the General Assembly of the United Nations in the fall of 1947. On October 11, our delegation declared itself, with a few reservations, in favor of the plan for partition as submitted by the UN's Special Committee. Its support was based on two assumptions: that Arab opposition would be negligible, and that the proposed Jewish state could be made a "going concern," — despite the consensus of expert opinion that neither assumption was sound. After its decision was made, the delegation proceeded on the principle that other countries should be allowed to make up their own minds. This principle was modified, however, when

¹⁴ C. L. Sulzberger in *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1947, p. 12.

it became apparent that if it were followed the partition plan would be defeated.

A straw vote taken in UN on Saturday, November 22, showed 24 states supporting partition, 16 opposed, and the rest abstaining or undecided. The American delegation was told at that point that the United States was committed to partition and that it must go through.

By Wednesday, November 26, when the vote was taken in committee, the result was 25 to 13 — one vote gained for partition, three lost to its opponents, and the abstentions increased by two. That was still not enough for the two-thirds majority needed for passage.

So the Zionists took the fight into their own hands. Rallying a group of influential Americans and selecting their targets with care, they exerted all possible influence — personal suasion, floods of telegrams and letters, and political and economic pressure. Six countries which had indicated their intention of voting against partition were the chosen targets: Haiti, Liberia, the Philippines, China, Ethiopia, and Greece. All except Greece were either won to voting for partition or persuaded to abstain.

That these countries, and others as well, may have had sound reasons for voting against partition was no impediment. Aside from moral scruples about "self-determination" and the possible injustice of imposing partition on a country against the will of a majority of its inhabitants, there were hard political facts to be taken into account. For instance, some of the countries concerned have "pressure groups" which might prove as powerful in their own land as the Zionists in the United States. Haiti has a sizable number of Syrian citizens. Liberia, China, and the Philippines have large numbers of Moslems among their populations. Ethiopia and Greece wish to be on good relations with their Moslem neighbors, who strongly oppose partition. But they are all small or weak countries; why should they be allowed the luxury of voting for interests which run counter to those of a powerful group in a powerful country like the United States?

The delegates of those six nations and their home governments as well were swamped with telegrams, phone calls, letters, and visitations. Many of the telegrams, particularly, were from Con-

gressmen, and others as well invoked the name and prestige of the United States Government. An ex-Governor, a prominent Democrat with White House and other connections, personally telephoned Haiti urging that its delegation be instructed to change its vote. He spoke firmly, and might be presumed to speak with authority. A well-known economist also close to the White House, and acting in a liaison capacity for the Zionist organization, exerted his powers of persuasion upon the Liberian delegate. Both states reversed themselves and voted for partition. How far our delegation was directly involved in the lobbying is hard to say, and it must have been even harder for the small nations and their representatives at UN to put a true value on many of the tactics employed.

What happened at the United Nations was a repeat performance of what had already happened in the United States. Using the same methods that had been so successful here, and having the United States Government to assist in their use there, the Zionists succeeded in getting what they wanted. The very pertinent question is, where do we go now?

Partition has been approved, but no method of enforcing it is provided. That problem, which will soon develop into a threat to peace, will fall within the jurisdiction of the Security Council. In other words, it will be subject to veto. The United States held the initiative for a time and produced partition. But because it was politically difficult to admit that Arab resistance would be strong, and even more politically difficult to commit United States force to putting down that resistance, we have let the question slide—right into the Security Council and the veto. The initiative is lost. The gain? Further complication and exacerbation of an already bitter tangle, which must now be handled by a council that has rarely found agreement. The future of Palestine itself looks blacker than ever before, and meanwhile important American economic and political interests in the Middle East have been placed in jeopardy.

If the future of our position in the Middle East is dark, at least the lesson to be learned from the Palestine case is clear. The process by which Zionist Jews have been able to promote American support for the partition of Palestine demonstrates the vital

need of a foreign policy based on national rather than partisan interests. A Palestine Zionist, indeed, may dismiss the Russian threat to the United States from his consideration, but an American may not, even if he is a Zionist. And as every American Zionist should think of himself as an American first, so should every Democrat and Republican. Only when the national interests of the United States, in their highest terms, take precedence over all other considerations, can a logical, farseeing foreign policy be evolved. No American political leader has the right to compromise American interests to gain partisan votes. The role the United States has assumed in the Palestine question is not the responsibility of Zionists alone, but of each American citizen. The present course of world crisis will increasingly force upon Americans the realization that their national interests and those of the proposed Jewish state in Palestine are going to conflict. It is to be hoped that American Zionists and non-Zionists alike will come to grips with the realities of the problem.

MIDDLE EAST OIL:¹

The Pattern of Control

John A. Loftus

WHEN IT was announced in December 1946 that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum, both members of the Iraq Petroleum Company, intended to acquire an interest in the Arabian American Oil Company's operations in Saudi Arabia and to enter into a purchasing agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the whole question of the pattern of control over Middle East oil was brought to the attention of the public. Frequently viewed solely in the light of power or "oil" politics, this pattern of control is nevertheless more immediately determined by basic economic considerations of production and supply.

To appreciate the basis of current and prospective developments such as those already announced, it is essential first to understand how and by whom the oil of the Middle East is administered, and secondly the economic pressures which are forcing changes in the control of its production and distribution.

Until the granting of the Saudi Arabian concession to the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) in 1933, all oil production of the Middle East was in the hands of the parties to the consortium known as the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). This consortium still controls, either directly or through subsidiaries, and by an assortment of concession contracts, all of the

¹ The area of discussion in this article is that shown to be under concession in the map on page 19. For text of a recent oil concession agreement (Transjordan-Petroleum Development, Ltd., May 10, 1947), see page 76.

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oil of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and the coastal sheikhdoms of Arabia, beginning with Qatar on the Persian Gulf and continuing around the southern periphery of the peninsula as far as and including Aden. It is divided into four equal parts, of 23.75 per cent each, among the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company Ltd.; Royal Dutch Shell; Compagnie Française des Pétroles; and the Near East Development Corporation, a jointly and equally owned subsidiary of Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum. The remaining 5 per cent is owned by a Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian, through a personal holding company named Participations and Investments, Ltd. Gulbenkian's minority share is based on reluctant appreciation of his services in negotiating the original Turkish Petroleum Company concession, the forerunner of the concession later acquired by IPC.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) is a corporate organization controlling the properties and interests acquired by the D'Arcy companies in the period before World War I. The British Government owns 52.5 per cent of the voting stock and appoints two of the company's directors; these two, however, have an absolute power of veto over the decisions of the fourteen directors elected by the rest of the stockholders. This airtight government control is not exercised with respect to the routine commercial activities of the company, but is utilized only in matters involving high policy or political relations. As a practical matter, however, it may be assumed that the AIOC is responsive to the wishes of the British Government in a manner not typical of the relations obtaining between American oil companies and the United States Government.

The producing operations of AIOC, outside of some marginal and primarily patriotic activities in the United Kingdom itself, are mostly limited to the Middle East: Iran, Kuwait, and the IPC areas. Its marketing operations, however, blanket the Eastern Hemisphere; and the AIOC thus ranks, with Standard of New Jersey, Shell, and Socony-Vacuum, as one of the four great marketers of oil in the world.

The Royal Dutch Shell is an amalgam of British and Dutch financial interests; but it is regarded, and regards itself, as a British company for purposes of diplomatic recourse and polit-

ical affiliation. Like Standard of New Jersey, it is a world-wide titan of the oil industry. Besides its interest in the IPC, it controls the bulk of production in the Netherlands East Indies; it is the second largest producer in Venezuela; through an American subsidiary it is one of the largest integrated oil companies in the United States; it is the most important producer in Rumania, and has significant production elsewhere in Europe and South America. Its marketing activities are world-wide in scope; and jointly with Standard of New Jersey it controls most of the advanced technology of the oil industry.

The Compagnie Française des Petroles is regarded and used as an instrument of national French policy, although the French Government controls only 35 per cent of its shares. The balance is held by French investors and French oil distributors, some of the foreign oil companies operating in the French market being fractional shareholders. It stands in roughly the same relation to the French Government as does the AIOC to the British Government; its operations, however, are less extensive, for until recently it had no production other than its interest in the IPC and some negligible production in metropolitan France. Recently it acquired an interest in properties in Eastern Venezuela which may ultimately represent as large an activity as the company's current off-take from Iraq.

Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum are friendly rivals, constrained by the courts to display their rivalry within the jurisdictional reach of the anti-trust laws, but frank to avow their friendliness in remote areas. Over and above their joint interest in the IPC and their proposed joint participation in the Arabian American Oil Company and in a crude oil purchase contract with Anglo-Iranian, all their operations east of Suez are conducted jointly through an organization known as Standard-Vacuum. Both companies are large producers, refiners, and marketers. In the Western Hemisphere their operations are separate and generally competitive. In Europe and in West and North Africa rivalry is on occasion lively, never vicious, sometimes non-existent.

Of the two, Standard of New Jersey is the overshadowing senior partner. The magnitude of its operations staggers the lay

imagination: in Venezuela alone it produces at least eight times as much oil today as do all producers in Rumania taken together. Yet this giant of the world-wide industry has heretofore been a midget in the Middle East. Its activity has been confined to a slightly less than one-eighth participation in the IPC — or, in absolute terms, to 10,000 barrels per day of production. This is less than 1.5 per cent of either total current production in the Middle East, or total current global production of the New Jersey company.

The enterprises described above are parties to the IPC inter-company agreement of July 31, 1928, known as the Group, or Red Line, Agreement. This document is an elaborate undertaking which sets out the legal rights and liabilities of the signatory partners with respect to one another and to the joint company of their creation. Its least known provisions are those which establish a multiple sharing in oil rather than in pecuniary profit, and which rule that a partner physically unable to lift its share of oil forfeits it without compensatory return for the use of capital during the period when participation involved no benefit. The most publicized provisions are the so-called "restrictive clauses," or "self-denying ordinances," which cause it to be known as the Red Line Agreement. These provide that the IPC shall be the sole agent for its constituent companies, which in turn shall not act separately on their own behalf but solely on account of the group in all matters pertaining to the acquisition and operation of concessions, the purchase of oil, and the local refining and marketing of oil. These provisions were made to apply to the pre-World War I Ottoman Empire, an area defined by a red line upon an attached map.

The "restrictive" clauses of the Group Agreement, particularly when examined in relation to the Red Line area, appear to fall within the category of those "ancillary restraints" which were condoned by British courts in *Mitchel v. Reynolds*² and which even at times escaped the censure of American legal doc-

² 1 *Peere William's Rep.* 181 (1711). This case, which represented the first important recognition of the "rule of reason," stated that "all total restraints of trade . . . are absolutely bad, and all the restraints, though only partial if nothing more appear, are presumed to be bad; but if the circumstances are set forth, that presumption may be excluded, and the courts are to judge of those circumstances and determine whether the contract be valid or not."

trine. When, however, it is noted that the parties to the agreement comprise the four largest oil companies in the world — companies which dominate the markets of the Eastern Hemisphere — as well as the *Compagnie Française des Pétroles*, the largest single factor in the important French market, it becomes clear that the clauses are contra-competitive.

The signatories are required to obtain their supplies from the defined area under absolutely identical cost conditions, leaving only the extremely narrow belt of comparative distributive efficiency as the margin of potential competition in terminal markets. This contra-competitive character of the IPC agreement assumes increasing significance as the defined area becomes a dominant source of supply for important consuming regions.

Late in 1946 the American partners in the IPC advised their associates that, in opinion of counsel, the Group Agreement in its entirety was void by virtue of a technicality in British law, and that under American law and policy they were unable and unwilling to reaffirm the agreement without deletion of the restrictive clauses. The partners (other than Gulbenkian) are understood to have agreed upon a new formulation of their reciprocal rights and liabilities without the restrictive clauses, contingent upon prior judicial determination as to the validity of the old agreement. This issue is now pending in the British courts; the proposed reassignment of ownership interests in the Arabian American Oil Company awaits its outcome, since Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum would not be free to acquire an equity in Aramco if the restrictive clauses were still in effect.

Three other private American companies — Standard of California, the Texas Company, and Gulf Oil Corporation — have become involved in Middle East oil independently of the IPC consortium. The first two, organized as the Arabian American Oil Company, jointly hold a concession in all of Saudi Arabia with the exception of the Holy Cities and a geologically unpromising area in the west. As the Bahrein Petroleum Company, they likewise hold a concession over the whole of the Bahrein archipelego in the Persian Gulf.

Both Standard of California and the Texas Company are

among the five largest oil companies in the United States. Their foreign operations have comprised primarily joint production in the Netherlands East Indies, joint undeveloped producing interests in New Guinea, joint marketing operations east of Suez, a significant but not major marketing interest for the Texas Company in Europe and Africa (now a joint interest), and various producing and marketing activities in Latin America.

The Gulf Oil Corporation, the third American company operating in the Middle East independently of IPC, holds a one-half interest in the Kuwait Oil Company. This concern, of which the other half interest is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, has been granted a concession over the entire oil resources of Kuwait, a sheikhdom lying at the head of the Persian Gulf. Gulf Exploration Company, aside from its operations in the Middle East, has been an important producer in Venezuela and has had marketing interests in various parts of Europe.

II

Concessionary arrangements are not peculiar to the Middle East, being found wherever petroleum operations are relatively new and conducted by foreign interests. Those in the Middle East differ, however, not only from the competitive, individualistic, atomized pattern of operations within the United States, but also from the pattern of concessionary legislation prevailing in such relatively mature oil-producing countries as Venezuela and Rumania.

The United States pattern has these essential characteristics: (1) Title to the subsoil follows title to the surface tract. (2) The law of capture obtains; that is, what is withdrawn from the subsoil by an installation upon a surface tract belongs to the owner of that tract regardless of where it may previously have been located in the subsoil. (3) The acquisition of rights to develop the subsoil beneath someone else's surface tract is subject to competitive bidding in a market where, in point of fact, both buyers and sellers have been numerous and alert enough to ensure a genuinely competitive result. This pattern, whose merits and demerits are not here discussed, is, with negligible exceptions, unique in the world.

In most areas outside the United States, no matter how diverse may be the legislative traditions governing ownership of surface lands, the resources of the subsoil, including petroleum, are a part of the national or communal patrimony; if the political system approximates absolute monarchy, as in Saudi Arabia, they belong to the ruler. In such cases, if the nation or community or ruler is technically and financially unable to develop such resources to the point of remunerative commercialization, institutional arrangements emerge whereunder other parties, almost invariably foreign, acquire concessionary rights of operation and recompense, the community retaining title to the subsoil and rights of residual financial reward.

As nations advance to a mature and sophisticated status in their dealing with foreign oil operators, a trend becomes evident toward systematization. The various concessionaires acquire their respective rights under similar conditions; procedures for acquiring rights become uniform, indeed almost mechanical; the magnitude of the rights obtainable by any applicant on any single application is fixed; the obligations of all concessionaires become uniform per acre of land, per barrel of production, or both. There emerges a "general petroleum law" governing the terms upon which oil operators may obtain rights, and defining in great detail and complexity the liabilities and privileges of the parties to the various contracts consummated under it.

None of the oil-producing countries of the Middle East has advanced far in this evolutionary process. There the pattern is fixed by *negotiated* concessions defining the rights and liabilities of the foreign operator and setting forth the rights and obligations of the concession-granting government. The major components of a concession contract, and the prevailing Middle East practice with respect to each, are as follows:

Definition of the area within which the concessionaire has rights. When not coextensive with the boundaries of the country (as it is in Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrein), the area is likely to be very large (100,000 sq. mi. in Iran; 400,000 in Arabia). The whole of Iraq is blanketed by three different concessions, all issued to one concessionaire and subsidiaries thereof. Sometimes the area includes adjacent islands and territorial waters (Arabia,

Kuwait). Effective provision is rarely if ever made for progressive reduction in the size of the area under concession.

Duration of the contract. Sixty to seventy-five years is general.

Drilling obligations. The government seeks to protect itself against the "bottling up" of its resources by making mandatory the performance of certain physical acts within certain stipulated time-periods, under penalty of forfeiture of the concession. These provisions, however, have dubious practical effect. Kuwait lay fallow for eight years. Qatar has never produced a barrel of commercial oil. In the Basra and Mosul areas of Iraq, moratoria upon drilling obligations were obtained. When a concession covers a very large area, drilling obligations do not suffice to ensure commercialization of the oil at anything like the technically feasible rate. The concessionaire is normally obligated only to begin development operations; he is largely free to determine the rate of those operations in the light of his own commercial convenience.

Financial obligations. The concessionaire agrees to make certain fixed-sum payments (dead rent) prior to commercial development, and thereafter to pay a cash royalty per unit of production. The modal values are in the range of 20-25 cents per barrel. Royalty in kind is almost unknown, except in the as yet undeveloped Basra and Mosul concessions. Customarily included are provisions designed to ensure for the concessionaire almost complete immunity from other financial charges, such as taxes, to which a commercial enterprise would normally be subject. The AIOC concession, however, which is older than the rest and which was subjected to renegotiation in 1933, entitles the Iranian Government to a share in distributed net profits above a stated exempt minimum, and requires an annual payment, over and above royalties, in lieu of all taxes.

Provision for the local economy. The concessionaire is generally obligated to supply petroleum products for the local market (in Iran, at a stipulated discount below world market prices).

Ancillary rights. The contract accords the concessionaire extensive rights to install facilities necessary or convenient for his proposed operations. These facilities are not limited to those

strictly germane to an oil industry operation, such as pipe lines and refineries, but extend also to a range of installations convenient for the conduct of any large industrial venture, such as private transport and communications systems.

Eminent domain. While the provisions vary in their terms, their uniform effect is to rule that private landowners, if any, within the area of the concession cannot impede the concessionaire from conducting his operation in whatever way appears to him technically and commercially desirable.

The concession contract alone does not always suffice to describe the sum-total of governing conditions under which oil operations are conducted. The IPC intercompany agreement, for example, clearly influences the pattern, the tempo, and the extent of developments within the IPC concession areas. Other extraneous but relevant undertakings are also operative. In the case of Kuwait there is a treaty between the Sheikh and the British Government which affects the circumstances under which any concession may be granted or operated; there is an agreement between the Kuwait Oil Company and the British Government; there is an intercompany agreement between the two partners in the Kuwait Oil Company defining their rights and liabilities vis-à-vis one another; and there is a political agreement governing the status of the Kuwait-Saudi neutral zone. All of these documents, as well as the concession contract itself, have a bearing on the total nature of oil rights extant in Kuwait.

Without any implication of a value-judgment and with full recognition of the voluntary character of the negotiations leading up to concession contracts, it is clear that there are substantial elements of extra-territoriality in the arrangements emerging from such contracts. The end result is that an industrial empire is established within the local state, sometimes even coterminous with it geographically. Subject to the limited and specific stipulations of the contract, this enterprise is almost autonomous; it has extensive rights which in other jurisdictions are frequently reserved to the state. The local government has, except for the relatively ineffective drilling obligations, no control over the rate at which and the manner in which its resources are de-

veloped; it has no control over the destinations to which its oil is shipped or the political ends such shipment may serve; it enjoys no benefit from the foreign exchange proceeds of the ultimate sale of its oil, and indeed its foreign exchange receipts are limited by whatever is the *de facto* convertibility of the currency in which royalties are paid (generally sterling). It is true that the provisions of the concession contract are theoretically interpreted and administered under local municipal law, but such law is frequently non-existent or primitive; and in one important case (the AIOC dispute of 1932-33) the government of the company holding the concession, in this case the British Government, sought to refer a dispute over the contract to some other jurisdiction — the permanent Council of the League, and subsequently the Court of International Justice.

Obviously the inducements that cause a government to grant such extensive rights must be considerable. They include the prospect of an immediate cash income from dead rents, and of an ultimate income from royalties of a magnitude sufficient to alter drastically the country's wealth and trading position; the prospect of large-scale remunerative employment for native labor, with the concomitant development of native technical skills; the expectation that ancillary and related enterprises will spring up and will accelerate the tempo of industrial development far beyond the furthest limits of what could be otherwise attained; and the expectation, sometimes in part contractually assured, that oil operations will entail necessary developments in the fields of public improvements, public health, education, housing, and food supply, largely at the expense of the concessionaire.

III

Barring political upheavals, the main determinant of the future pattern of control of the oil in the Middle East is likely to be the fact that its production and distribution must be integrated, at least to some degree, with the pattern of control over oil markets in the Eastern Hemisphere, particularly Europe. The impact of this factor may be appreciated from a number of interrelated circumstances.

There is no local market in the Middle East for crude oil. The markets are remote and the demand is ultimately for refined products. It would be commercially irrational to embark on producing operations unless the subsequent operations of refining, transport, and distribution could be foreseen with reasonable clarity and assurance of control. The control need not be in all cases proprietary or even rigidly contractual; but it must be assured. It is therefore pointless to talk of "independents" getting into the Middle East oil picture in any sense even remotely analogous to that in which independent producers operate in Texas and the mid-Continent. An "independent" in the Middle East would have to be an operator with guaranteed access to relevant market outlets, either by direct control thereof or by firmly established "trading-out" connections.

The United States market is not yet ready to assimilate significant quantities of Middle East oil. Whatever may be the future situation as regards increasing United States dependence on imports, the balance of economic and political considerations is such as to preclude completely any "flood of imports" from the Middle East in the near future. The companies presently controlling the resources of the Middle East have, with the exception of Anglo-Iranian, interests in the continental United States and in nearby South America of such magnitude that for them to ship their Middle East output to the Western Hemisphere would be illogical in terms of transport cross-hauls and suicidal in terms of marketing policy.

The germane markets, therefore, are in Europe, Africa, and Asia. But the markets of Asia have never been large. The hoped-for industrialization of China and India may expand them, but for the immediate future the fact that production in the Netherlands Indies is beginning to be rehabilitated is of greater significance. The prime markets therefore, are in industrial western Europe.

The markets of the Eastern Hemisphere are relatively rigid and are already controlled by a handful of companies. Entry to them is economically expensive and sometimes politically difficult. The problem of integration in Middle East operations is easily soluble only for those organizations which already have

an entrenched position. It is no coincidence that the list of companies with established market positions in the Eastern Hemisphere is almost identical with the roster of companies operating in the Middle East. There is, under present and foreseeable circumstances, no sufficient commercial incentive for anyone to get into the Middle East who is not directly or indirectly endowed with such market positions.

Not only is new entry to Eastern Hemisphere markets hard and costly; any significant shift of relative market positions is equally difficult. If any one of the seven large oil companies attempted to augment appreciably its share of the available market, it would not only have no assurance of a successful outcome from the effort but it would needlessly and fruitlessly break the established price and profit structure, to its own detriment as well as to the disadvantage of competitors. Such efforts have occasionally, but very rarely, been made in the past; and the attempts have always been regretted. The international oil trade is an almost perfect case-study in oligopolistic competition; and it is against all the logic of oligopoly for one firm to act in a manner which it knows the others would not, indeed could not, tolerate.

From the foregoing it is evident what is the underlying significance of recent and emerging changes in the pattern of company control in the Middle East. There has taken place an abrupt and erratic increase in the total productive capacity of the area.³ This increase is attributable partly to the circumstances of the war and the necessity of exerting developmental pressures without reference to what would have been the consid-

³ Production in barrels per day for the various Middle Eastern countries considered in this discussion was as follows for the indicated years:

	1938	1945	1946	<i>Current</i> <i>(approximate)</i>
Iraq	90,000	87,000	96,000	96,000
Iran	215,000	349,000	401,000	400,000
Bahrein	22,000	20,000	22,000	21,000
Saudi Arabia	1,350	58,000	165,000	250,000
Kuwait	0	0	18,000	60,000

It should be noted that none of these countries except Iran had any commercial production prior to 1927, and that Iraq did not reach its present level until 1935, nor Bahrein until 1937. Saudi Arabia produced less than 15,000 barrels a day each year until 1944, and Kuwait did not come into production until 1946.

ered policy of the operating companies; and partly to the persistent impact of United States Government policy in support of accelerated development in general, with particular emphasis on areas controlled by American nationals.

But the increase was distributed unevenly in comparison with the distribution of market shares. The end result was that four of the seven great companies (Anglo-Iranian, California, Texas, and Gulf) found themselves with an actual or prospective producing potential far in excess of their established market outlets; while the other three (Jersey, Shell, and Socony) emerged with a niggardly share in Middle East production and the lion's share of the markets appropriately provisioned from it. Indeed these last three companies found themselves in manifold difficulties. Not only were they short on Middle East crude. They were at least temporarily deprived of their crude supplies from the Dutch East Indies; and their European outlets, which historically had been supplied from the Caribbean area and from the continental United States, were threatened by a disappearing United States export potential and a prospectively increasing absorption of Caribbean supplies by the United States market.

Therefore the arrangements now emerging in the Middle East are in the nature of intercorporate adjustments belatedly devised to compensate for the maladjustments that developed suddenly and unevenly — maladjustments as between the productive and distributive potentials of the companies which among them dominate the international oil trade.

The arrangements specifically are these: Standard of New Jersey and Socony have undertaken to purchase 30 per cent and 10 per cent interests respectively in the Arabian American Oil Company. They thus acquire 75,000 and 25,000 barrels per day respectively at current rates of production. Secondly, the same two companies have contracted, on an 80-20 per cent participation basis, to purchase crude oil from Anglo-Iranian over a twenty-year period. The quantity involved is believed to average about 135,000 barrels per day over the period, though doubtless this level will not be reached initially and will be exceeded in the latter years of the contract. Finally, Gulf and Shell have reportedly concluded an arrangement whereby the bulk of

Gulf's production in Kuwait will move through Shell's facilities and outlets on a profit-sharing basis. It is believed the quantity involved might exceed 200,000 barrels per day in the early years of the next decade.⁴

The three arrangements described above affect a very substantial fraction of the important terminal markets for Middle East oil. It should not be assumed that they accomplish a complete restoration of intercompany equilibrium in supplies and markets. The California-Texas interests, by retention of a 60 per cent share in the Arabian concession, will have at their disposal in the Eastern Hemisphere during the next decade total supplies of oil representing a substantially larger percentage of probable consumption in that hemisphere than their historical share in its markets; Anglo-Iranian, despite its crude oil sale contract, may still have excessive supplies in relation to its existent and prospective marketing facilities; and Gulf is likely to have residual supplies from Kuwait to market for its own account, though their magnitude cannot be estimated. It is quite possible, therefore, that commercial logic will impel the corporate parties at interest in Middle East oil to seek further readjustments.

The readjustments thus far effectuated, however, have had the cumulative result of redressing, at least in part and temporarily, imbalances which had developed during a period when corporate policy was of necessity subordinated to intergovernmental policies and to the exigencies of military planning. The readjustments are taking place in an environment where a much larger and more basic readjustment is taking place — wherein, as so frequently has been said, the center of gravity of world oil production is shifting from the Caribbean-United States area to the Middle East.

These readjustments, however, should not be regarded as definitive. A stable balance has not yet been achieved; nor will one be achieved in the foreseeable future if for no other reason than that the distribution of oil resources is at present unknow-

⁴ These reported quantities total about two-thirds of western Europe's pre-war consumption, and one-third of the very ambitious consumption level projected for 1951 by the Marshall Plan countries in their Paris report.

able and unpredictable.⁵ But if experience in other areas is any guide, the amorphous and relatively tentative character of the arrangements under which the oil resources of the Middle East are now developed and administered will in time be extensively modified. The process will be more or less voluntary, more or less gradual, and more or less uniform, depending on circumstances; but that it will take place is virtually beyond doubt. It will continue probably for many years before the present primitive pattern of control settles into a stable balance of national and corporate interest. It is important that the process be widely and clearly understood, and that there be brought to bear upon it both governmental and corporate statesmanship of the highest order.

⁵ Currently accepted estimates of Middle East oil reserves appear to be as follows:

Iran	6.5 billion bbls.
Iraq	5.0 " "
Saudi Arabia	4.5 " "
Kuwait	9.0 " "
Bahrein8 " "
Qatar	1.0 " "

Each estimate, however, is of a different character and probable accuracy, and applies only to that part of each concession which has actually been explored. This caution is of particular importance when considering the figures for Saudi Arabia and Iran.

THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF PALESTINE UNDER THE MANDATE

Norman Bentwich

IT HAS been said of the legal system of Palestine that it is not Mosaic but *a* mosaic. Inheriting the Ottoman system of law and of courts in force when the country was occupied in 1918, first the British Military Administration and then the Civil Government have been faced with the problem of evolving a legal structure suited to the rapidly developing social structure of Palestine. The result is, indeed, a curious pattern made up of many pebbles.

The Turkish Sultan, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, enacted as part of the Tanzimat (Reforms of the State) a body of civil law which was known as the Mejlle, or "Collection"; and a body of the land law, criminal law, procedure civil and criminal, and commercial law. The first two were consolidations respectively of Moslem law and practice, and of custom and legislation. The others were adaptations, often very faulty, of the Napoleonic codes, which were then the model for Europe. A certain amount of legislation was enacted by the Turkish Parliament after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and this legislation, of course, was applied also in Palestine. As to the courts, the Turks, working probably on a theory that there is

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safety in numbers, multiplied tribunals. They had in Palestine west of the Jordan no fewer than thirteen courts of first instance, each composed of three judges; and three courts of appeal, composed of five judges. In addition, there were magistrate courts manned by a single judge and dealing with both civil and criminal matters of less importance. Each court of first instance and of appeal included a public prosecutor and an investigating magistrate who was concerned with the examination of criminal cases.

The quality of the Turkish judges was not as remarkable as the quantity. Only the presidents of the courts were professional judges; the others were usually laymen of some legal position — notables, as they were called — or apprentices in the judicial service. The laymen had rather the position of assessors than judges of the law; their function, in part, was to see that a member of their religious community was not oppressed in judgment.

*PROVISIONAL REFORMS
OF THE BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION*

Civil Courts. The British Military Administration carried out straightway a large simplification of the courts.¹ At the head they appointed a number of British legal officers who were qualified as barristers or solicitors, or had magisterial experience. These became presidents of the Supreme Court of Appeal and of four District Courts which were established in the principal towns. The single Court of Appeal for all the country was manned originally by two British judges and four Palestinians who represented the principal religious communities: two Moslems, one Christian, and one Jew. Of course, the old right of recourse to the Supreme Court of Cassation in Constantinople was abolished. Below the District Courts were the magistrates,

¹ Here it may be pointed out that Palestine west of the Jordan and the country to the east of Jordan, now known as Transjordan, have developed differently since the British occupation. Transjordan also was included in the British Mandate until 1946, but from the outset British control and supervision of the government was very limited. The Amir Abdallah, son of King Husayn of the Hijaz, was recognized in 1921 as the ruler of the country, and in 1946 as independent king. His autonomous government has made the minimum of change, both of the law and the judiciary, in the Ottoman system, which was found suitable by the Arab inhabitants.

of whom one or more were appointed in every town of any size. They were given jurisdiction in cases punishable up to a year's imprisonment and in civil action up to a value of £100, and in actions for possession of land. They also conducted the preliminary inquiry into the graver criminal charges. Generally they were Palestinians, Arab or Jew, but a few British officers were appointed as magistrates in the larger towns. Municipal courts, also presided over by the mayor and composed of citizens serving voluntarily, were established in the larger towns for the trial of contraventions of municipal regulations. However, this experiment in a system of honorary justices did not work satisfactorily, and after some years was abandoned.

For the trial of capital cases, the Military Administration established a Court of Criminal Assize, in which a British judge of the Supreme Court sat with the District Court in the district in which the crime was committed. The jury system of England was not introduced, because it was felt that, in view of the state of communal feeling in Palestine, it might not be an instrument of justice.

Before the outbreak of World War I, the system of Capitulations was still in force throughout the Ottoman Empire. As soon as the Turks entered the war on the side of Germany, they denounced the Capitulations, and when the British Military Administration took over responsibility for the government, the foreigners' privileges were not restored. Nevertheless, certain safeguards were introduced in the composition of the courts which tried the graver charges against foreigners or civil suits in which a foreigner was a party.² A British judge was to preside in any such case at the request of the foreigner concerned. The courts of the Military Administration, and subsequently of the Civil Government, were declared to be of general jurisdiction, and all consular courts came to an end. As regards, however, matters of personal status of foreigners (e.g. marriage relations, succession and guardianship, which were formerly within the consular jurisdiction), the British president of the court was authorized to invite the consul, or representative of the consul,

² The Mandate for Palestine, which came into force in 1923, declared that "the Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall secure to foreigners as well as to natives a complete guarantee of their rights."

of the foreigner to sit as an assessor for the purpose of advising on the personal law. The British authorities recognized the law of the nationality as the basis of the personal law. Although according to Anglo-Saxon principles it is the domicile which governs personal status, the law of the domicile was to be applied only where the national law so directed.

Religious Courts. Besides the civil courts, the Ottoman system recognized the religious courts of the Moslems, and of the Christian and Jewish communities. The Sharia, or Moslem religious court, was in fact the original and only state tribunal before the middle of the nineteenth century. The Qadis (judges) were paid by the state, and when the civil courts were established, they retained exclusive jurisdiction in matters of personal status and in questions concerning charitable endowments (Waqfs) constituted under the religious law. Somewhat anomalously, also, they exercised jurisdiction in many matters of personal status of non-Moslems.

The Military Administration and the Mandatory government preserved the courts' jurisdiction over foreigners and natives who were Moslems, but abolished their right to decide cases concerning non-Moslems. In order to meet Moslem objection to the appointment and dismissal of religious judges by non-believers, a Supreme Moslem Council was established in 1921. Originally it was elected by Moslem adult males, and was composed of four members, the president being the nationalist leader Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the Mufti of Jerusalem. The function of the Council included the supervision of the Moslem courts and the administration of the Waqfs. Its members were paid from the public revenue but were not subject to control by the government. Later the Council was nominated by the government.

The jurisdiction of the Jewish and Christian courts in matters of personal status was more restricted. According to the Turkish rule, it was exclusive only for members of the community in matters of marriage relations, the confirmation of wills made in religious forms, and the administration of charitable endowments. In other matters it was — and is — concurrent with the competence of the civil courts, which succeeded to the powers

that were enjoyed under the Ottoman system by the Sharia courts in such cases. Any Jew or Christian party to a dispute in a matter of concurrent jurisdiction may require that the case shall be heard by the civil court, which administers the civil law enacted by the Government of Palestine. Moreover, as regards Jewish citizens of Palestine, the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts extends only to those who adhere to the official community; and any Jew or congregation of Jews has a right to contract out of the community and be exempted from the religious jurisdiction.

The Rabbinical and the Christian (Patriarchal) courts, unlike the Moslem Sharia courts, cannot deal with these matters of personal status for foreign subjects unless all the parties concerned voluntarily accept their jurisdiction. They are expressly precluded from granting a divorce or a decree of nullity to a foreign subject. The British courts also are precluded from granting a dissolution of the marriage tie to a British or other foreign subject. Certain Christian communities, e.g. the Protestants, did not enjoy under the Ottoman system jurisdiction over their members, a position that has been maintained. Members of their congregation are subject to the civil courts in these questions of personal status. Marriage, however, is celebrated by the religious authorities for all Palestinians; for foreign (including British) subjects there is also a system of civil marriage.

Tribal Courts. One other variety of court which is recognized in the kaleidoscopic society of Palestine is a tribal court composed of Arab sheikhs. The Bedouin Arabs, of whom there are still some 50,000 living mostly in the southern Beersheba area and in Sinai, knew not the Ottoman codes and had little respect for Ottoman judges. They recognized their tribal customs and their chieftains for the settlement of disputes and for the trial of crimes. The British administration has sanctioned and adopted this tribal justice. The sheikhs in their flowing robes hold regular judicial sessions, and judge according to their usage the charges and claims referred to them. They are not bound by the regular rules of evidence and may use tribal methods of proof. Their decisions, however, are subject to appeal to the

District Court, which takes account of tribal customs in these cases.

Language Usage. The Mandate for Palestine laid down that there should be three official languages of equal standing: English, Arabic, and Hebrew. All laws and regulations and government announcements are published in the three languages. As regards pleading in court, the rule is that in an area which includes a substantial number of Jews, Hebrew may be used by the advocates; and most of the Jewish lawyers, who number today more than 500, are able to plead in Hebrew. The magistrates' courts in Tel-Aviv have Hebrew as their principal language; in the other chief towns, such as Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tiberias, some courts are conducted in Hebrew. In the Supreme Court and in the District Courts, where English judges preside, the normal language is English; in purely Arab areas like Nablus, it is Arabic. The Ottoman Mejlle (civil) and land codes, which are still in force, have been translated into Hebrew as well as English.

ENACTMENT OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The Civil Government of Palestine was established in 1920, although technically the country was still in military occupation because the treaty of peace with Turkey was not yet concluded. The Mandate, however, already had been allotted to Great Britain; and the High Commissioner for Palestine, as the head of the government was called, exercised full power of legislation and administration. It was not, however, until 1922 that the definite constitution of the government as regards legislative, executive, and judicial powers, was issued. This instrument was in the form of an Order in Council; that is, an enactment of the King in the Privy Council, which is the accepted form of legislation for colonies and foreign countries in which the Crown exercises jurisdiction. The power of legislation for Palestine by Order in Council was expressly reserved; and while normally the law is enacted by Ordinance of the Government of Palestine issued by the High Commissioner, in matters of great moment and touching international relations the other form has been used on several occasions. Thus the law of citizenship

or nationality was an Order in Council. So, too, was the measure which carried into effect the recommendations of the commission of the League of Nations concerning the Holy Places in Jerusalem. So, too, was the measure empowering the government in times of war to issue emergency regulations.

The Palestine Order in Council 1922 — which has been amended on several occasions — prescribes exactly the form and powers of the judiciary, and it prescribes also the law which is to be applied by the courts. The system of courts, which is a development of those established by the Military Administration, is examined later. As regards the law, the broad principles are that the Ottoman legislation, as it existed at the outbreak of the war in November 1914, is maintained, subject to modification by any Ordinance or legislation of the government. Failing provision in the Ottoman or the Palestine law, the courts are to apply the rules of the English Common Law and English Equity, and also the English practice and procedure so far as they are applicable to the circumstances of Palestine. These principles are in accordance with the British system in India and the colonies, which everywhere has taken over the law in force at the time British administration was established.

LEGISLATION

The full powers of legislation given to the High Commissioner have indeed been freely and fully used in order to adapt Palestine to the radical changes which have been brought about during the past thirty years. The government has been faced with the difficult task of providing law and institutions which on the one hand are in accord with the needs of the mainly rural and conservative Arab population, and on the other with the needs of the highly developed and progressive Jewish population immigrating from Europe. Ordinances on all manner of subjects have been multiplied, and the administrative system of the country has been completely remodeled.³

While the basic law with regard to contractual agreements and

³ The abundant legislation of the government was consolidated in 1933 in three big volumes containing the Orders in Council, the Ordinances, the regulations, and the rules of court. With the surviving Ottoman codes, they form the main part of the law applied by the courts.

to land has been left as it was in the Ottoman codes (aside from frequent minor modifications), that part of the Ottoman law which was based on French models has been replaced by Ordinances based on English models. Thus the government enacted a new criminal law which follows the broad lines of codes in British dominions and colonies, but has regard to special circumstances of Palestine. It has enacted, also, fresh codes on commercial matters, such as partnerships, limited companies, bills of exchange and cheques, and co-operative societies. It has replaced the inadequate Turkish laws on such matters as trade marks, patents, and copyright, adopting the international rules laid down in international conventions. In accordance with the terms of the Mandate, it has had also to give effect to conventions of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations and to health conventions and other social legislation prescribed by the League of Nations.

The procedure of the courts, both criminal and civil, has been changed gradually, until today little remains of the former Ottoman codes. The law of evidence has been brought into accord with the fundamental rules of English law; but many of the rules of the Mejlle on proof and presumptions have been retained. The old criminal procedure has been entirely superseded, and the practice is now determined by English principles.

Legislation is constantly amended and added to. There is no elected legislative body, Ordinances being made by the High Commissioner after consultation with an Advisory Council, which since 1923 has been a purely official body. Various efforts to form a representative council have failed. However, the opportunity is given for public criticism of proposed changes in the law, because the drafts of Ordinances must be published in the *Official Gazette* some time before they are examined by the Advisory Council. Major measures frequently are republished several times before final enactment in order to give further opportunity of criticism. Among the more important changes which have been introduced by legislation are a law of torts or civil wrongs, covering matters like nuisance, defamation, and misuse of property (not dealt with in the Ottoman civil code); a law of succession to supplement the provisions of

the religious codes; a law of charitable trusts, again to supplement the religious law; and a law about arbitration to give precision to the practice. Other aspects of the law which were lacking in the Ottoman system have had to be instituted, as in regard to extradition of persons charged with offenses in foreign countries, and the execution of foreign judgments. International practice in these matters has been adopted.

The residuary power, given by the Order in Council, to apply the rules of the English Common Law and Equity, has been increasingly exercised in recent years. A notable example is the adoption of the English rule which distinguishes between liquidated damages and a penalty prescribed for breach of a contract. While the Ottoman law did not make the distinction clear, the judgment of the Privy Council of England in an appeal from Palestine laid down that the English rule should be applied; and that judgment is binding on all the courts.⁴

A few English statutes, concerning among other things navigation and maritime matters, are applied by the Order in Council to Palestine. An amendment to the original Order in Council, passed in 1939, gave the High Commissioner additional powers. With regard to land he was authorized to convert common or *metruka* land into land of another category. Further, he may prohibit or restrict the transfer of land in Palestine by rules which apply only to transactions between Arabs and Jews. The validity of such legislation was challenged later in the courts on the ground that it infringed the principle of the Mandate prohibiting discrimination on grounds of race or nationality. But the Supreme Court of Palestine held in 1947 that it was bound by the Order in Council.⁵

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Turning now to the judicial system which was established by the Order in Council 1922 and has been developed since, the most striking change in the system provisionally established by the Military Administration was the creation of a Supreme

⁴ *Michel Habib etc. v. Sheikh Suleiman el Taji el Farouqi*, Law Reports 1941, Appeal Cases, p. 274.

⁵ The case had not yet been reported at the time of writing.

Court constituted in two forms: a Court of Appeal and a High Court. The Court of Appeal hears appeals from any court of Palestine other than the religious tribunals. The High Court hears original applications of a novel kind designed to protect the individual against arbitrary action of the officials.

The applications are in the nature of habeas corpus and mandamus, two of the principal British institutions for securing individual human rights. They call in question respectively any detention of the person against his will, and any action of a government officer which is alleged not to be based on law. The purpose of their adoption was to introduce the principles of the English rule of law. The right of recourse to the High Court has been very fully used, even in times of emergency when normal protection of individuals is restricted. The Palestinian lawyers have been ingenious in finding ways of testing every act of the bureaucracy. It may be said, indeed, that what is asked often is the rule of legality rather than the rule of law. But the independence of the judiciary to check any arbitrary act of the government has been one of the most salutary features of the British administration.

Another important innovation of the Order in Council was to confer a right of appeal from the Supreme Court of Palestine to the Privy Council in England. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is one of the historical institutions of the Crown, is the supreme appellate tribunal for all courts in the British Commonwealth, including India, the colonies, and mandated territories. The Order in Council provides an absolute right of appeal in a civil case where the subject matter is of the value of £500 or more. Furthermore, special leave to appeal may be given, either by the court in Palestine or by the Privy Council itself, in any other civil case where an important legal issue is involved. As regards criminal cases the Privy Council alone can grant leave to appeal, and it will do so only where it is satisfied that there has been a departure from the principles of justice and fairness, or an absence of jurisdiction. Appeals to the Privy Council are brought from the courts of Palestine more frequently than from any colony, and many important decisions have been given which form a binding precedent. The value of

land is so great in Palestine that in many cases disputes about ownership or possession of immovable property are carried to this supreme appeal.

The courts of Palestine are entitled to pronounce upon the validity of legislation or regulation of the government where it is claimed that there has been a violation of the principles laid down in the Mandate or the Order in Council. An appeal on such a matter can also be taken to the Privy Council. A significant example was given when an Ordinance which empowered the High Commissioner to take the surplus waters of a village spring for the water supply of Jerusalem was challenged as contrary to the terms of the Mandate. The Supreme Court of Palestine upheld the application and declared the legislation null, but its judgment was reversed by the Privy Council.⁶

Another innovation, laid down by the Order in Council, was the creation of the office of Chief Justice and the conferment on the holder of the office of general control over the courts. He is not only the chief judge but has also some of the functions of a minister of justice. He makes the appointments of magistrates and, subject to the approval of the Crown, of judges in the District Courts, the judges of the Supreme Court being appointed directly by the Crown. The Chief Justice has become in Palestine an embodiment of the rule of law, and something of the majesty of the law has also been introduced. He and the other British judges, and those Palestinian judges, Arabs or Jews, who have a British qualification as barristers, wear wigs in court, and all the judges wear special judicial robes. The principal British judges arrayed in their robes go on assize to all parts of the country.

The Order in Council provided for certain additions to the system of courts. In the first place it prescribed the constitution of land courts which deal purely with actions about ownership of immovable property. They were originally composed of a British and a Palestinian judge, but later the formation by a single judge was adopted. Secondly, provision was made for a

⁶ *Jerusalem-Jaffa District Commissioner v. Suleiman Murra*. Law Reports 1926, Appeal Cases, p. 321.

special court to deal with conflicts between civil and religious courts. It is composed of the Chief Justice and one other senior British judge sitting with the highest religious judges of the courts between which conflict arose, e.g. the head of the Moslem Sharia Court of Appeal or a Rabbinical court. This tribunal was required in order to get over the difficulties about jurisdiction between civil and religious courts, or between religious courts themselves, and has worked satisfactorily.

The Order in Council maintained in force the religious jurisdiction which has been mentioned above. In 1939 an amendment to the Order provided that the Christian courts might exercise jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals lawfully brought under the law of any country other than Palestine, whether the parties to the appeal were Palestinian citizens or foreigners. The purpose was to authorize the Patriarchal courts in Jerusalem, which had formerly a right to hear appeals from Christians in Syria and other former territories of the Ottoman Empire, to continue that function. The same amending Order gave power to pass an Ordinance for celebrating, dissolving, or annulling marriage of persons neither of whom is a Moslem or a member of a religious community. That power, however, has not been exercised.

THE LEGAL PROFESSION

One of the important changes made in the administration of justice is the organization of the profession of advocates. After World War I very few persons were qualified under the Turkish system to plead in the courts. The government established law classes which provide legal education over four or five years; those who pass the examination, serve a period of "stage," and are satisfactory in character are admitted to the roll of advocates. Further, those persons who have a foreign qualification, whether in England or any other country, are admitted as Palestinian advocates after passing a severe examination in the local law and a period of apprenticeship in the chambers of a Palestinian advocate. The distinction which exists in England between the barrister who pleads and the solicitor who prepares the case is not maintained. Discipline over advocates is exercised by a

council in which judges and advocates themselves are included. A striking change in oriental manners was the admission of women to be advocates. The profession is all too popular; at present, over a thousand from the Arab and Jewish communities are practicing; in addition a number of Arab lawyers are qualified to appear in the Sharia religious courts.

Another innovation is the introduction of law reports, edited by qualified lawyers and accepted by the courts as reliable statements of judgments. The publication of reports has been greatly developed during the last twenty years; besides a series of official reports controlled by the Chief Justice, several unofficial series are issued and have a wide circulation in the profession. A large legal literature also is published in the three official languages.⁷

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

There has been, then, an extraordinary and almost unparalleled development of law and legal institutions in Palestine during the last thirty years. It has been altogether different from the development in Syria and Iraq, which in the Ottoman Empire had the same law as Palestine. The effect is to make the system in Palestine west of the Jordan separate and unique from that of the neighboring countries. Unfortunately, perhaps, no attempt was made to secure any principle of unity or uniformity of the development of law and courts in the different mandated territories. Part of the Ottoman law, it is true, remains in force in all these countries, particularly the law about immovable property. Notably the distinction of *mulk* and *miri*,⁸ and the incapacity to dispose of *miri* property by will, are common institutions.

⁷ The following is a selected list, in order of publication: F. M. Goadby and Moses Doukhans, eds., *The Land Law of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1926); F. M. Goadby, *International and Inter-Religious Law in Palestine* (Jerusalem, —); Norman Bentwich, *England in Palestine* (London, 1932); R. H. Drayton, ed., *Consolidated Laws of Palestine*, 3 vols. (London, 1935); C. A. Hooper, *The Civil Law of Palestine and Trans-jordan*, 2 vols. (London, 1938); E. Nitta, *Conflicts of Personal Status in Palestine* (1947).

⁸ "*Mulk* land most nearly approximates our common law fee simple, with complete rights of sale and disposition by will. *Miri* land is approaching the status of *Mulk*, but is still bound by a traditional inheritance system; formerly *Miri* reverted to the State on continued non-cultivation, but this State right has ceased to be exercised." Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, Daniel Creamer, *Palestine: Problem and Promise* (Washington, 1946), p. 184.

There may be further complication and diversity in the law of Palestine if the country is divided into two states as voted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 29, 1947. The Jewish and the Arab states may not wish to preserve the present legal system established under British administration, preferring to follow their own religious legal systems in other matters as well as in those of personal status. A similar problem arises and will become of practical significance in India through its division into two dominions. All that, however, is a matter for the future.

It is to be expected that the effect of giving autonomy or independence to Palestine, either as a whole or divided, will be to bring about radical changes in the law and the courts. One part of the structure, however, may remain: the regard for the rule of law and for the independence of the judiciary. The judges and the advocates of Palestine, both Arab and Jew, have now been brought up for a generation in the British tradition. They will retain some of the fundamental ideas of that tradition; and when the specific enactments that are based on English models or English ideas are no longer in force, those broader ideas and principles may be the ultimate legacy of the British administration.

THE PROBLEM OF WESTERNIZATION IN MODERN IRAN.

T. Cuyler Young

WESTERN life and thought began to penetrate modern Iran during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the establishment of the Safavi Empire marked "the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good."¹ This was a period of national Iranian revival, characterized by withdrawal from Arabic-speaking society, the designation of Shiite Islam as the established Iranian faith,² and a subsequent clash between the Safavis and Osmanlis. Yet withdrawal from free and facile intercourse with Islamic society as a whole could not lead to political or cultural isolation, for the expansionism of the Western powers and Iran's own geographic heritage made necessary the determination of the nation's place in an even greater society.

¹ E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1924), vol. 4, p. 1.

² It is significant to note that essential Shiite doctrine demanded that the successor of the Prophet and the leader of the community combine in himself both religious and civil functions. It was Safavi implementation of this doctrine that made the national religion of Shiism, in the words of Toynbee, "the matrix of a secular and political national consciousness." As a result, during the Safavi period "political developments in Persia had begun to some extent to coincide independently . . . with tendencies prevailing in the Western world." The first quotation is from Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 6 vols. (London, 1940-45), vol. 5, p. 393; the second is from A. K. S. Lambton, "Persia," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXXI (1944), p. 9. The author gladly records his debt to this penetrating discussion.

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The development of relations between Iran and the West during this period is evidenced by the political and military contribution of the English Sherley brothers; by the visits of an increasing number of travellers, merchants, and adventurers to the Iranian court; and by Anglo-Portuguese and later Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the Persian Gulf. Indeed, the Safavi rulers were hospitable to European contacts to a degree not characteristic of the immediately subsequent period, and the breakup of their empire may be considered a major misfortune for the natural development of interaction between Iran and the West: the political weakness which followed forfeited for Iran its share of true mutuality in the East-West interaction and hastened the intrusion of a new and influential element in these relations — the eighteenth century entrance of Czarist Russia into the affairs of northern Iran.

During the Safavi period, Iran continued to be dominated by Shiite Islamic thought; its culture was medieval in character and its society essentially feudal in organization. The educational media for the transmission of Islamic influence were the *maktab*, the mosque schools teaching the elements of the Koran and religious literature to a minority of the community, and the *madrasah*, the mosque theological schools which gave higher education of essentially a religious character to the few who by social position or unusual ability aspired to such learning and distinction. Yet though Islam offered relatively limited media for a formal education, it must be remembered that there was a host of informal troubadours and story-tellers who roamed the Iranian plateau entertaining and educating successive Iranian generations in the ancient lore and literature, so that "the population, though unlettered, is not unlearned, and has a better knowledge of the Persian classics than the average European has of the masterpieces of his race."³ Even so, the means of enlightenment were woefully meager compared to those developing in the West, which was growing more aggressive with each passing decade.

It was with the Napoleonic era that contacts with Europe were greatly accelerated and Western influence in Iran became

³ Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *Persia* (London, 1932), p. 36.

of increasing significance. It is no accident that these contacts developed concurrently with the political and economic pressures of the rival imperialisms of Russia and Great Britain. It was especially the Russo-Iranian treaties of Gulistan and Turkomanchai, of 1813 and 1828 respectively, which convinced the Iranian Government that the adoption of Western military techniques was necessary to maintain national integrity and to resist foreign exploitation. Yet the spread of Western techniques in response to military necessities was not the only aspect of Western penetration. The intellectuals of Iran were at the same time responding to the freedom of thought in the West and to the greater possibilities there for material development and progress; this interest brought in turn a shift of emphasis from the religious, which had absorbed their attention during the medieval period.

Varied were the movements and institutions contributing to the growing ascendancy of Western thought in Iran. Although during the second half of the nineteenth century, Nasr ud-Din Shah (1848-1896) discouraged Iranian visitation in the West, during the earlier half of the century travel was freer and students were even sent to Europe for study. Western thought also moved into Iran by way of formal educational channels, with Americans, British, and French founding elementary and later secondary schools, culminating in higher schools of learning in the twentieth century. Most of these were missionary in character—the first two Protestant and the last-named largely Roman Catholic. These schools stimulated the Iranians to the founding of both private and governmental institutions of a similar nature. Yet before the founding of most of these, Nasr ud-Din Shah had himself established in Tehran, in the middle of the century, the Dar al-Funun, an academy of the arts and sciences, European in organization and until well into the twentieth century the center of influence in the dissemination of Western thought, techniques, and science. Another factor contributing to the increase of Western influence was the development of publication by printing, including newspapers and periodicals, and of more importance, pamphlets and books. During the Iranian constitutional struggle at the turn of the century, the periodical

press burgeoned into amazing proportions and influence, as it did again immediately after the abdication of Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1941.⁴ Also of significance was the extension in Iran of practical business techniques of the West, especially British enterprise in the fields of banking and communications, and the rapid increase in the export-import trade.

Strong though both American and British educational programs became, it was the French contributions along these lines which proved most influential up to World War II. The first French school was founded in Tabriz in 1839 by the Lazarite mission which, with *Les Filles de la Charité*, eventually established seventy-six schools throughout the country. In addition there were foundations of the *Alliance Française*. It was French culture which proved to be the acceptable channel for the flow of most Western science and thought into Iran. The reasons, no doubt, are to be found chiefly in the prevailing use of French as a diplomatic language; the superior diplomatic representation of France in Iran during parts of the nineteenth century; the absence of French political and economic designs upon the country, combined with French power to resist British pressures; and probably most important of all, the similarities and affinities between the Gallic and Iranian spirit and temperament.

Although, during the early years of the nineteenth century, the Qajar Shahs encouraged European contacts, by the last third of the century Nasr ud-Din Shah had become so disillusioned with the exploitative aspects of Western penetration that he expressed the wish "that never a European had set foot on my country's soil; for then we would have been spared all these tribulations. But since the foreigners have unfortunately penetrated into our country, we shall at least make the best possible use of them."⁵ But his use of them was opportunistic and short-sighted, being generally to gain funds for his impoverished court and government in exchange for unequal and damaging economic concessions. Against all this patriotic Iranians protested, expressing their resentment by insisting upon a modification of absolutism through the establishment of a constitutional monarchy

⁴ E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 468ff.

⁵ Quoted in W. S. Haas, *Iran* (New York, 1946), p. 35.

whereby a measure of democracy, at least among the educated classes, might provide both a check upon Qajar ineptitude and recklessness and a means for the development of material progress — which, as Miss Lambton points out, was greatly desired by the intellectuals and at that time associated by them with the peoples enjoying Western democratic regimes.⁶

The combination of both negative and positive reaction to the West energized the political revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century, when an intensified nationalism brought on the demand for a constitution. Into this document were incorporated, in 1905-6, the basic reforms deemed essential by Iranian patriots and intellectuals. The Qajar rulers, however, underestimating the power of the new leaven imported from the West, intended their political concessions to be only nominal. By this error Muzaffar ud-Din Shah, for all his support from the Russians, lost his throne in the final victory of the constitutional party in 1909.⁷

But the Iranian patriots and intellectuals were equally unaware of the organic complexities and the eventual implications of the program of Westernization upon which they had embarked. They were easily disillusioned when political revolution did not bring immediate material progress and the solution of all Iran's problems. Many were soon ready to lay the blame upon the imported ideas and institutions, disregarding the inadequacy and cupidity in their own adoption and administration of them. Yet Iranian impatience and myopia were by no means wholly to blame for the meager results of this originally promising revolution. In its very midst came the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which, necessary though it might have appeared to those powers from the viewpoint of European strategy, was nonetheless a severe limitation upon Iranian autonomy and a crippling handicap to internal reform. Continued foreign interference in spite of the agreements, high-lighted in the prevention of economic and financial reform,⁸ cut short the natural growth of any program of Westernization. The general deterioration issuing from the chaos of World War I, when Iran, aspir-

⁶ A. K. S. Lambton, *op. cit.*, pp. 11ff.

⁷ For this period, see E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution* (Cambridge, 1910).

⁸ See W. Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia* (London, 1912).

ing to neutrality, became the marginal battlefield of three of the contending powers and the center of intrigue for even more, seemed to snuff out such virility as remained in the pre-war modernist, nationalist movement; indeed, it appeared near to complete paralysis when the post-war political leadership in Iran was ready to surrender national sovereignty to the British in the proposed Anglo-Iranian Agreement of 1919 — since sincerely regretted by most Britons themselves.

Although World War I involved Iran only marginally, the effect was sufficient to open many new doors to Western influence and to demonstrate further the inexorable fact of Iranian involvement in the international arena. But new liberty degenerated into licence, and rampant individualism produced near-anarchy. Goaded into action by the threat involved in the proposed Anglo-Iranian Agreement and the Bolshevik invasion of the Caspian provinces that countered it, national spirit revived in 1920 sufficiently to effect in early 1921 the *coup d'état* which overthrew the Tehran government, rejected the British agreement, and accepted the generous offer of the communists to withdraw from Iran and return all privileges and concessions of Czarist predecessors as they went — thereby, to use a Stalinist phrase, “harassing the imperialist rear” in Asia.⁹ It was in these times that Reza Khan first emerged to prominence, becoming Minister of War in 1921, Premier in 1923, and finally Shah-inshah and the founder of a new dynasty in 1926.

The revival demanded that Iranian independence and territorial integrity be defended and consolidated. The major manifestations of this demand were the abolition of the “Capitulations” in 1927-28, the liquidation of communist ideological influence in the Caspian provinces shortly thereafter, the insistence on a revised oil agreement with the British in 1932, the signing of the Saadabad Pact in 1937, and the increase during the thirties of a mild but officially encouraged xenophobia.¹⁰

⁹ See James Filmer, *The Pageant of Persia*, pp. 346ff, for a discussion of the decade and a half following World War I.

¹⁰ As a corollary of this general negative development in the cultural tradition of the Safavis, the nationalism of the Reza Shah regime emphasized everything pre-Islamic and pre-Arab in the Iranian tradition, even to the setting up of an Iranian Academy to purge the language of Arabisms and replace them with pure Persian, the more ancient the better. As a result, the language today differs markedly from that of two decades ago.

On the positive side, the nationalists endeavored with a new vigor to emulate the West — particularly by the acquisition of its superior scientific, commercial, and industrial techniques — in order to realize the material progress which the intellectuals desired so passionately and for the realization of which Reza Shah gave them the forceful leadership they needed. Young men were sent to the technical schools and universities of Europe, Britain, and the United States; engineers and teachers were brought from Europe to help build and organize the light industry which would make Iran self-sufficient, and to man the school system which was rapidly expanded on the French pattern. Over 15,000 miles of roads were built, and the Trans-Iranian Railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf was built at a cost of \$125,000,000, raised by Iran primarily from a high tax on sugar and tea. Modern avenues and parks, shops and theaters, factories and buildings — some of them in the ancient Achaemenid style but most in that of modern central and eastern Europe — appeared in Tehran and some of the provincial capitals. In the first decade of the reign, Western dress for men became universal in the cities; in 1936 the veil for women was abolished and the equality of the sexes in society and before the law was promulgated. These are but a few of the outstanding features of the revolution and Westernization which gained momentum until the outbreak of World War II.¹¹

One of the most significant features of this revolutionary nationalism was the acceptance of the principle of secularization. This trend did not clearly emerge, however, until after the coronation of Reza in 1926 and the consolidation of his power. In the years immediately following the coup of 1921 there was much talk of the establishment of a republic with Reza as its first president. But when the new Turkish Republic abolished the caliphate and separated church and state, the frightened Shiite clergy was glad enough to support Reza's predilection for the ancient monarchical forms with the foundation of a new dynasty. Had they perceived the treatment they were to receive subsequently at his hands, they would probably have preferred

¹¹ For detail on this subject, see L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Modern Iran* (London, 1941), pp. 68-153; W. S. Haas, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-67.

to take their chances with a more democratic form of government.

Secularization expressed itself in a number of forms. Especially important was the confiscation of clerical *vaqf*, or mortmain, with consequent loss of wealth, power, and independence by the clergy. These endowments were transferred to the reorganized Ministry of Education, and the clerics who were retained in the administration of the *vaqf* became state functionaries. Similar in effect was the reform of the law and juridical system of the country along the lines of the Napoleonic Code. Civil or secular law had long existed in Islamic society, but it has ever remained subordinated to canon law, or the Shariat. Now the balance was to be reversed and the competence of the religious law attenuated. The Shiite ceremonies in celebration of Moharram were so curtailed that the majority lost interest in their enactment. New national holidays were elaborated to take their place. The lunar or religious calendar was allowed to fall into disuse; the solar calendar of ancient Iran was used for all state purposes. So effectively had the Shah demonstrated that the Shiite faith had become a matter of personal rather than national concern, that he could arrange to marry his son and heir apparent to a Sunni princess of Egypt's ruling house.

Reza Shah and his regime were not contemptuous of, or hostile to, religion as such; they were only indifferent or opposed to it in so far as the religious leaders blocked modernization and were in a position to compromise the whole movement unless curtailed in power. Indeed, the elements of the Sharia continued to be taught in the governmental schools and for a time it appeared as though the government would insist that they be included in the curriculum of foreign schools as well. Theological colleges were not closed, though the government began to supervise examinations for, and admissions to, the clerical profession; and the theological school of the Sepah Salar Mosque in Tehran was incorporated as a separate faculty in the organization of the University of Tehran in 1935. Moslem holy days generally continued as state holidays. Though pilgrimage to shrines without the country was discouraged and at times forbidden, though prayers and alms and fasts were scarcely en-

couraged, though the pageantry of Shiism was reduced almost to the vanishing point — still most members of the regime would have resented the implication that they were not Shiite Moslems and worthy members of the traditional society.

During the second decade of the Pahlavi reforms two new contributions of Europe began to influence Iran: Central European totalitarianism and Russian communism. It was only natural that the dictatorial Shah should welcome the expanding totalitarianism of Europe, especially the German form. The rise of any power likely to challenge the great traditional foes of modern Iran would receive favorable attention; and especially would this be true when that power excelled in the scientific knowledge and the technical skill which Iran so desired and needed, and when that power was prepared, as was Germany, to give needed technical aid within the framework of mutually profitable trade.

Yet this veering of the Westernization movement away from democracy toward fascism and national socialism, the pyramiding of power and authority in the hands of a dictator falling more and more a prey to the lusts attendant on power, and the regimenting of all classes of society, became more than the thoroughly individualistic Iranian could easily accept. Consequently during the latter years of Reza Shah's police state there was growing unrest beneath the surface of apparent order and progress. A sense of spiritual frustration overtook many intellectuals. Not a small portion of the youth was being attracted by the ideology of neighboring communism. This trend was vigorously suppressed and its leaders thrown into jail, where they at once began a self-disciplinary and self-educating regime that was to exert powerful influence when amnesty and a measure of freedom returned with the "occupation" by the Allies in August 1941.

The period of Allied "occupation," regularized as an alliance in the Tri-partite Treaty of January 1942 between Iran, Britain, and Russia, lasted almost five years and brought with it an acceleration of Western penetration and influence on a scale hitherto undreamed of. This period also brought a realignment in these influences. The place of Germany as a third major balancing power was soon taken by the United States, whose war effort in Iran revealed a technical skill, industrial wealth, and

buoyant democratic spirit that made a deep impression on the Iranian people, turning the tide of youth seeking foreign education toward America. If any Iranian had doubted the inevitability of his nation's occupying a strategic place in world society, it was dissolved by the global war which made Iran "the bridge of victory in Asia" and Tehran the symbol of Big Three collaboration for winning the war and the peace to follow.

The period brought to Iran itself political, economic, and social confusion, if not chaos. The suppressed individualism of the Iranians suddenly erupted in all directions. The dictatorship had left them so inexperienced and untrained in self-discipline and self-government that these fresh aspirations and energies could not be constructively directed. Under the aegis of Allied propaganda, the demand was for the restoration of democratic institutions and the repudiation of everything connected with the now hated dictatorship. Iranian educated classes during the last years of Reza Shah's regime had failed to find meaning and satisfaction in their stultified efforts to contribute to national reconstruction, had lost faith in themselves and in the future of their country, and had tended to drift into defeatism and moral disintegration. The new era brought revived hope and an outburst of new effort. But the complications of the war — occupation by the forces of three major powers; the monopolization by them of all vital transport for the war effort; the loss of internal security, especially in tribal areas; a dislocated economy and spiraling inflation — all these were too much for the inexperienced officials to handle. Temptations to opportunism and profit were too much for the average urban Iranian to resist. Many of those who did not yield to crass materialism fell victims to spiritual despair and defeatism. The consequent failure that soon became apparent, for all the valiant efforts made by some, brought a spiritual reaction and relapse, accompanied by a readiness to blame the Allies for all the country's woes. The occupying forces must share the blame, but not all, or even the major portion of it. Iran had too large a legacy of its own unsolved national and cultural problems, and the breakdown of morale was merely the admission of inability to face the demands and responsibility of this accumulated deficit.

Yet this judgment may be tempered by a word of sympathy and understanding which may explain, though not excuse, the failure. Two of the most important accomplishments of the military regime of Reza Shah were internal security and unification, and independence and integrity in relations with foreign powers. These qualities had given all Iranians self-respect and a new faith in the nation; their collapse within the space of only a few weeks after the Allied invasion was a violently deflating experience. It is thus understandable why the revived but chastened and unsure nationalism of the present has been so often timid and ineffective, especially since its setting has been a vortex of the global post-war struggle. Indeed, that Iran has been able to do as much as it has within recent years in the re-establishment of its independence and unity is a matter for congratulation.

During the war and post-war period the secularization characteristic of the previous regime has been maintained in official and in most urban circles. Elsewhere the resurgence of the clergy has been evident, symbolized most clearly in the return to the veil on the part of many women. None of the fundamental legal reforms of the previous regime divesting the clergy of its powers has been repealed, yet there is no question but that the moral influence of the clerics has been enhanced. Many Iranians believe that the Reza Shah reforms proceeded too fast and too far, and that the collapse following the removal of his strong hand was rightful retribution for his errors. The superficiality of many reforms has been revealed, and there is now a widespread deploring of the deterioration in the standards of moral conduct. The present is compared invidiously with the allegedly healthier days of religious restraint, for it is the inner policing influence of religion which is so often emphasized by the modern Iranian.

The question of secularization is definitely related to the influence of foreign powers within the country. Rightly or wrongly, the British are credited with encouraging the resurgence of clerical power and the buttressing of the ruling aristocracy, both of which are in turn blamed for crippling the process of modernization. Those critics on the extreme left who follow a pro-Soviet policy try to identify American with British policy in this regard, even at the same time that leftist and communist

propaganda goes out of its way to mollify the qualms and fears of the clerical conservatives.

It is impossible here to consider the moral and spiritual affinities or aversions between Shiite Islam and the communist philosophy and way of life. Suffice it to say that with the collapse of Reza Shah's dictatorship and the resurgence of "liberty" and "democracy" under Allied occupation, Iran witnessed a quick growth of socialist and communist ideology. The socialist movement is genuine and strong, and still to be reckoned with by anyone essaying to lead the country. Communism, however, can scarcely be so classed, potent though it has been because of its ability to penetrate the leftist groups, becoming in the Tudeh Party a hard core of directing power. Exploiting the genuine social unrest and ferment, championing the cause of "freedom" and "democracy," and backed by the feared force of Russia, it was able to manipulate its weaker social allies until in 1946 it appeared as though it might attain its end of minority rule.¹² The line was overplayed, however, and the majority of Iranians, perceiving the threat to Iran's integrity, rallied in successful resistance. The result is that leftist forces have been forced underground and are now in apparent eclipse. But the social conditions which stimulated this misdirected protest still obtain and still remain to be faced.

In a situation characterized by delicate balance, prediction is not only difficult but dangerous. Yet it is clear that Iran cannot avoid or escape the consequences of its increasingly strategic position in world society. It must continue its social and spiritual revolution until it reaches a stable way of life. Latterly, through travail and Western democratic support, the country has re-established its formal independence and territorial integrity, as promised by the Declaration on Iran at the Tehran Conference in 1943. Encouraged by regained sovereignty and stimulated by the moral backing of the Western powers, the Iranian Parliament has rejected the disadvantageous oil agreement promised by Premier Qavam under duress to the Soviet Union in 1946.

Whether the new-found independence and courage will en-

¹² For a discussion of the communist movement up to this point, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45.

ture still depends heavily upon future relations of the Big Three and Iran's ability to satisfy in proper balance their interests in the country. But their endurance will also depend much upon a continued reform of internal politics, economy, and society. If Iranians are to realize them and thereby work their way out of present confusion and weakness, they will have to make political and economic demands upon themselves which will test their capacity for self-discipline.

One of the tragedies of modern Iran is the lack of understanding and co-operation between the intellectual and spiritual leaders in the old Iranian tradition, and the dynamic group, mostly of the younger generation, which is determined upon carrying through an Iranian cultural revolution consonant with Western science and technique. This schism must be healed before Iran can have a fighting chance in solving its problems of Westernization. The former must learn that isolation in time or space is impossible, and that Iran must continue its process of adjustment to the West so that it may fill its place in world society. The latter must learn that future reforms can only be founded upon a deeper understanding of both Western and Iranian traditions than was the superficially imitative, materialistically motivated program of the Reza Shah regime. Only then can Iran, inspired by its understanding of the West and by its own precious and peculiar genius, create a new culture that is modern yet indigenous.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY¹

SEPTEMBER 1 — NOVEMBER 30, 1947

ANY VALIDITY which the Arab states may have accorded the Truman Doctrine upon its enunciation in March 1947 was completely dissipated by the end of November, when the General Assembly of the United Nations, largely at the behest of the United States, voted the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. During the past the Arabs had been ready enough to believe that the United States, for motives of self-interest if for no other, was prepared to take the initiative in blocking a further spread of Russian influence; but the partition of Palestine robbed them of any confidence in American leadership, for they found it impossible to fit America's actions into the framework of President Truman's "doctrine."

Both the White House and the Zionist organization in America, which led the campaign for the establishment of a Jewish state, had argued on occasion that the partition of Palestine was sound American policy because it was the solution best calculated to bring about a settlement of the Palestine problem and thus stability to the Middle East. Protagonists had likewise argued, on occasion, that the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine would introduce the leaven of Western democracy into the Middle East and thus a political entity upon which the United States could

depend; that in an American-sponsored Jewish state the United States would have a secure base of action against communist infiltration.

A justification of the partition of Palestine on the ground of American self-interest, however, was entirely overshadowed by repeated emphasis upon two extraneous objectives: that of the Zionist organization to found a Jewish state at any cost; and that of American humanitarians to ease the situation of Europe's displaced Jews. Neither emphasis raised American prestige among the Arabs; for they were unable to comprehend what place the former had in the determination of a foreign policy logically based on national interest, and could accord no validity to the latter in the light of the failure of the United States to open its own doors to the displaced persons of Europe or even to press for a solution on an international basis which would be adequate to cope with the problem.

What the Arab delegations did take away with them from the General Assembly at the end of November was the conviction that U. S. Palestine policy had become divorced from national interests and wedded to partisan ends. They believed it to be dictated by a powerful minority which somehow had succeeded in convincing both American political parties that its support was vital in the 1948 presidential election; and that for the next year at least, the United States must be counted out as a moral force in world affairs.

¹ In general, items in the Chronology are drawn from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated.

The most widespread reaction among Arab leaders was one of incredulity at what they could only view as U. S. stupidity and naïveté. To the many who witnessed with sincere regret the abandonment by the United States of Arab friendship, were added others more cynical, who saw in a Jewish Palestine the specter of a new imperialism rising from the dissolution of the old. To them the Zionist national home was the instrument of American capital, to which it owed its material existence; it was an enormous investment which American financial interests would defend by every means at their disposal. Zionist spokesmen, in attempting to demonstrate that Jewish Palestine was viable, had emphasized that the millions of dollars which poured each year into Palestine from the United States were not charity but largely an amortized loan. All the more reason, argued the Arabs, that the venture must be regarded as foreign penetration, if not by the U. S. Government itself then by a group of vested interests which were strong enough to force the government to give it backing and thus entangle it in the affairs of Palestine, much as the East India Company had entangled the British Government in India.

Even those Arabs who looked upon the U. S. with the greatest respect and affection, and sincerely hoped for an eventual understanding with the Jews of Palestine, could see no reasonable basis for acquiescence in the partition scheme. Because of the aggressive character which the Zionist movement had assumed since World War II; because of the several policies of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union; because of the back-stage pressures they had witnessed during the last days of the General Assembly debate, no Arab could regard the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine with equanimity. The moderates agreed with the extremists that the Arab peoples and their governments had no choice but to adopt a policy of intransigence. Palestine had become the test of the Arabs' independence; to surrender would mean a repetition of the defeat which had come upon them after World War I.

Informed Arabs, especially those who had dealt with the problem in the United States and directly at the United Nations, were cog-

nizant of the fact that America's official attitude was considered ill-advised by members of the Department of State, as well as by American non-Zionist Jews and independent students of U. S. foreign policy. Foremost in the minds of those Americans in government service who opposed partition was their nation's need of Arab goodwill if it was going to maintain an influential position in the Middle East; and its national interest in the oil of the area: the interest to see to it that Eastern Hemisphere requirements were supplied from that quarter and the resources of the Western Hemisphere conserved for its own use. Foremost in the minds of others was the conviction that a Jewish Palestine could not solve the plight of world Jewry and might even exacerbate it; that forcing the political secession of a minority and erecting it as an independent state against the majority's wish was a repudiation of the democratic principles for which Americans themselves had fought. Of additional concern to all was the prospect of the weapons the partition of Palestine would provide the Soviet Union: an opportunity to share in the policing of the land, possibly leading to the establishment of a Soviet base in the Mediterranean; an opportunity to introduce communist agents among the prospective flood of Jewish immigrants; an opportunity to capitalize upon the possible revulsion of the Arab world from the West; and finally an opportunity to establish the principle of partition and the self-determination of all minorities, which the Soviet Union could then sponsor on behalf of the Azerbaijanis in Iran, the Kurds in Iraq, and the Armenians in Turkey.

In voting the partition of Palestine the United Nations made its first unequivocal decision on a question of world importance. It accomplished this end largely through the combined support of the United States and the Soviet Union. With the sole exception of Ethiopia, which abstained from voting, all the states of the Middle East, from Greece to India and from Turkey to the Yemen, stood in opposition. The United Nations would face a further test of its strength when it came to apply its radical decision to an area of the world becoming ever more hostile to Western and Big Power domination.

Afghanistan

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 18: Iran charged the Afghans with diverting the waters of the Helmand River from the Iranian province of Sistan, so causing crop failures there.

Sept. 30: Abdol Hosayn Aziz, Afghanistan's Minister to U. S. and chief of the Afghan delegation to UN, cast the only vote against the admittance of Pakistan to UN. He objected on the grounds that the people of the North-West Frontier Province, now part of Pakistan, had not had a fair plebescite.

Nov. 28: Afghan troops under Gen. Daud Khan, Minister of War, were concentrated in the eastern provinces to prevent fighting between the Safi and Nuristani tribes.

Arab League

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 2: The first Arab Cultural Conference opened its sessions in Lebanon. (*Arab News Bulletin*, Oct. 11, 1947, page 8.)

Sept. 8-13: An Arab Engineers' Conference was held in Damascus. (*Arab News Bulletin*, Oct. 11, 1947, page 8.)

Sept. 13: The first Arab Archaeological Conference was held in Damascus. (*Arab News Bulletin*, Oct. 11, 1947, page 8.)

Sept. 16: Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, conferred in London with Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. (*Palestine Affairs*, Oct. 1947, page 106.)

Sept. 19: At a meeting of the Political Committee of the Arab League convening in Sofar, Lebanon, resolutions were adopted denouncing the UNSCOP report and threatening armed resistance if the report was implemented. The Committee also pledged support of Egypt's claims to the Sudan. (*Palestine Affairs*, Oct. 1947, page 106.)

Oct. 7-15: The Arab League Council met in its semi-annual session in Lebanon. Three recommendations were adopted: that the secret Bludan agreements be implemented if a solution other than a plan for an independent Arab state were forced on Palestine; that in view of British evacuation plans military precautions be taken on the Palestine borders; that a special committee supervise funds for Pales-

tine Arab defense purposes. (Text in *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1947.)

Oct. 8: The Mufti arrived in Beirut, where the Arab League and the Arab Higher Committee were meeting in separate sessions. He conferred with President Bishara al-Khuri and Premier Riad al-Sulh.

Oct. 10: Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, and the prime ministers of Iraq and Transjordan conferred with King Abdallah in Amman.

Oct. 15: At the conclusion of the Arab League Council sessions in Lebanon, Abd al-Rahman Pasha stated that the League had adopted measures for tightening the Arab boycott on Jewish goods and for stricter measures to "throttle" Zionism economically.

Oct. 31: A request by the Egyptian Embassy in London that a representative of the Arab League be appointed to act as an observer with the investigating commission to the former Italian colonies was refused by the deputies of the Foreign Ministers.

Egypt

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 2: Husayn Abu al-Fath, editor of *Al-Misri* and three other Egyptian newsmen were arrested in connection with the publishing of an allegation that Minister of Commerce Mamduh Riad, a member of the Egyptian UN delegation, had inspired the Colombian resolution introduced at the Security Council hearings. The papers demanded the recall of the delegation.

Sept. 3: Husayn Abu al-Fath was released after questioning, but his brother Ahmad, a member of the staff of *Al-Misri*, was arrested.

Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha held a conference with Under-Secretary of State Robert Lovett in which he requested U. S. aid in modernizing the Egyptian army and air force.

Three workers were killed and 17 wounded when the police fired on strikers at the Mahalla al-Kubra cotton weaving factory.

Sept. 10: The Security Council reopened discussion of the Egyptian case, but failed to reach a decision. The case was to remain on the agenda.

Sept. 11: The American Consulate at Port Said was stoned and an attempt was made to burn the British Consulate there by Egyptians pro-

testing the failure of the Security Council to order the withdrawal of the British from the Nile Valley.

Sept. 13: James W. L. Robertson, British Acting Governor-General of the Sudan, announced that the Sudanese Government would continue with its general plans for the economic development of the country and for a new Legislative Assembly and Executive Council at Khartoum whether or not the Security Council resumed talks on the Sudan.

Sept. 14: Justice Minister Ahmad Khashaba, Acting Prime Minister in the absence of Nuqrashi Pasha, called the Egyptian Cabinet into extraordinary session to consider the situation in the Sudan.

Students and police clashed in Alexandria, where a demonstration was held against the Security Council's failure to concede the Egyptian case.

Sept. 15: A British Foreign Office spokesman said that the statement of James Robertson had been made without consultation with Britain.

Sept. 17: Leon Setton, Cairo industrialist, disclosed that Egypt's first steel plant would be erected in Aswan Province within eighteen months and with the aid of a "well-known American financial group."

Sept. 18: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha left the U. S. for Egypt.

Sept. 20: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha arrived in Egypt and immediately had an audience with King Farouk.

Sept. 21: More than 1,000 employees of Egyptian army workshops marched to the Prime Minister's offices denouncing Great Britain and the U. S., and hailing the Soviet Union, Poland, and Syria for favoring the evacuation of British troops from Egypt.

Sept. 24: The newspaper *Al Ahram* quoted Defense Minister Ahmad Atiyah Pasha as stating that a five-year plan for the expansion of the Egyptian army had been developed by his ministry.

A cholera outbreak in the provinces of Sharkia and Dakahlia was reported spreading to areas close to Cairo.

Sept. 25: The government declared officially that Egypt was a cholera-stricken country.

Sept. 26: Mustafa Mahir Bey, Director-General of the Egyptian Department of Industry and Commerce, stated that six major U. S. industrial concerns, including Westinghouse Electric Corporation, were negotiating with Egyptian

business for the establishment of branches in Egypt.

Sept. 28: Restrictions on travelers from Egypt were imposed by some neighboring countries.

Oct. 4: Rail communication between Cairo and 15 towns was halted in an attempt to check the spread of cholera.

Oct. 5: Finance Minister Abd al-Majid Badr Pasha reported that Britain had informed Egypt of its inability to pay its sterling debt in dollars.

Oct. 17: Pope Pius received the credentials of the first Egyptian Minister to the Vatican, Mahmud Tahir al-Umari.

Oct. 19: Air and sea communication between Turkey and Egypt was suspended to prevent the spread of cholera.

Nov. 4: The Companies Law promulgated in August requiring that 40% of the boards of Egyptian companies be of Egyptian nationality, that no one serve as director of more than 10 companies, and that in the formation of new companies at least 51% of the capital be subscribed by shareholders of Egyptian nationality, went into operation; 75% of administrative, technical, and clerical posts (except for highly-specialized foreign technicians engaged with ministerial approval) must be Egyptian and receive 65% of the salaries; 90% of the laborers must be Egyptian and receive 80% of the wages. (*London Times*, Nov. 5, 1947, page 3; and other sources).

The Ministry of Health announced that the total number of deaths from cholera since its outbreak on September 23 had been 8,858.

Nov. 9: Members of the Deputy Foreign Ministers' Commission on the former Italian colonies arrived in Cairo from London enroute to Asmara, Eritrea.

Nov. 12: King Farouk, in a speech opening the Egyptian Parliament, stated that efforts to unify Egypt and the Sudan would be continued.

Nov. 19: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha reshuffled his cabinet as follows:

Nuqrashi Pasha—Minister of Finance
Kashaba Pasha—Minister of Foreign Affairs
Haidar Pasha—Minister of Defense
Galal Fahim Pasha—Minister of Social Affairs
Mursi Badr Bey—Minister of Justice
Mahmud Hasan Pasha—Minister without Portfolio

Nov. 20: A spokesman for the Egyptian Ministry of Public Health announced that danger from the cholera epidemic was over.

Nov. 24: More than a score of persons were arrested after the reported discovery of a plot to assassinate Gen. Ibrahim Attallah Pasha, Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Army.

The Ministry of Public Health announced an outbreak of smallpox.

Ethiopia

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 14: It was reported that the Ethiopian Foreign Minister had handed H. L. Farquar, British Minister to Ethiopia, a note proposing a new treaty of friendship and commerce and suggesting the return of the part of Ogaden which had been placed under British administration in 1942.

Oct. 9: Emperor Haile Selassie rejected the idea of a "greater Somaliland," and reaffirmed his country's claim to the former Italian colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. (*London Times*, Oct. 10, 1947, page 3.)

India and Pakistan

Although communal violence gradually ebbed during September, the flow of refugees across the Indian and Pakistani borders of the Punjab continued in full flood. By the end of November it was estimated that over 8,000,000 individuals ultimately would be involved. The governments of the two dominions took measures to facilitate the process of transfer, but Pakistan, in particular, remained opposed to a formal exchange of populations. Its resources for coping with the situation were far inferior to India's; moreover, while the number of Hindus and Moslems involved was approximately equal, the proportion of the population affected was much greater in Pakistan than in India, and while Pakistan received large numbers of peasants who must be settled upon the land, it lost in exchange many of its merchant class, together with the liquid assets at their disposal.

The weakness of Pakistan's economic situation forced it into a restrictive policy which threatened the continuance of free commercial intercourse with India. Its most controversial measure was a tax placed on the export of raw

jute to the Indian side of the Bengal border, where it was normally processed before shipment from Calcutta. In defense of its policy, Pakistan asserted that the tax being levied on jute at Calcutta was held in India's portion of Bengal, in violation of the "stand-still" agreement which assured its being credited to the whole of Bengal, as had been the practice prior to partition. The controversy was likely to be the first of many problems to arise as the result of a political partition in which economic factors received little consideration.

Political attention was transferred from the question of partition to the future position of the Indian States, notably Junagadh in the feudally fragmented Kathiawar Peninsula, Hyderabad, and Kashmir. In each, Pakistan hoped to acquire a footing which would strengthen its position relative to India. Its claims to Junagadh and Hyderabad rested on the circumstance that each was ruled by a Moslem albeit their populations were largely Hindu. But New Delhi's military initiative in the Kathiawar Peninsula assured it the upper hand there; and an agreement with Hyderabad conceded recognition of that state's independence for another year in all matters except foreign relations, defense, and communications.

The most dramatic struggle developed in Kashmir, whose geographical location gave it strategic importance, and with which both India and Pakistan had common frontiers. Here the internal situation was the reverse of that in Junagadh and Hyderabad, Kashmir's largely Moslem population being ruled by a Hindu maharajah. Fighting between "rebels," presumably sustained by support from Pakistan, and Indian troops called in by the maharajah broke out late in October. The legal disposition of the state remained undetermined.

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 1: Calcutta rioting caused 50 deaths and injury to 371, according to unofficial estimates. Gandhi began a fast in protest. Armies of India and Pakistan took over control of the borders from the neutral boundary force commanded by the British. Beginning of a widespread civil disobedience campaign in Mysore.

- Sept. 3:* Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, concluded a tour of the Punjab. He met with Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, in Lahore to discuss measures for protecting refugees.
- Sept. 4:* Gandhi ended his 73 hour fast.
- Sept. 7:* New Delhi had its first communal disorder, with at least six deaths, considerable looting, and arrests. Employees of Mysore State Railroads struck in support of the civil disobedience campaign.
- Sept. 8:* About 50 Moslems were killed by Sikhs and Hindus in the New Delhi railroad station.
- Sept. 9:* An estimated 1,000 people lost their lives during the previous three days in Old and New Delhi, according to official sources. Gandhi arrived in New Delhi from Calcutta.
- Sept. 11:* First cases of cholera were reported from refugee camps near Lahore.
- Sept. 12:* Governor-General Mountbatten announced that his Chief-of-Staff, Lord Ismay, had left for Karachi to act as liaison between the two dominions on measures to protect minorities. Leave was cancelled for all ranks in the Indian Army.
- Sept. 13:* Hasan Ispahani arrived in Washington to assume his post as Ambassador from Pakistan.
- Sept. 16:* Sir Zafrullah Khan, head of the Pakistan delegation to UN, arrived in New York.
- Sept. 19:* Incidents and serious tension were reported from several places in the United Provinces.
- Sept. 20:* Following a two-day conference between Pandit Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan in New Delhi, a statement was issued saying that the two governments would co-operate in speeding the movement of refugees in both directions, and in restoring peace in the disturbed areas.
- Sept. 22:* Paul H. Alling was named first U. S. Ambassador to Pakistan.
- Sept. 23-24:* Bombay cotton mills were closed by strikes.
- Sept. 24:* In Mysore, 8,000 gold mine workers struck in protest against political conditions in the state.
- Sept. 26:* The Indian Government announced that more than 1,700,000 non-Moslems had been evacuated from West Punjab up to September 15.
- Sept. 27:* It was reported from British Government sources in London that Pakistan had appealed to the governments of the other dominions to help in solving the communal problem in India and Pakistan.
- Sept. 30:* Pakistan was admitted to the United Nations.
- Oct. 2:* Gandhi celebrated his seventy-eighth birthday. In a birthday talk, Nehru declared that the present situation, if unchecked, might "sow the seeds of facism or nazism."
- Oct. 3:* Pakistan asked the UN Legal Committee to draft a code on genocide to prevent "butchery," such as the present wave of communal slaying in India.
- Oct. 4:* The Indian Government announced the despatch of a small military force to Porbandar "in response to a request from certain Kathiawar states."
- Oct. 5:* Tara Singh, leader of the Akali Sikhs, predicted that a total of 1,000,000 deaths would result from past and future communal disorders.
- The formation of a "Provisional Government" in opposition to the state ruler was reported from north Kashmir, and the formation of a "Republican Provisional Government" at Muzaffarabad.
- A million persons were reported homeless as a result of floods in north India.
- Oct. 6:* Indian Army, Navy, and Air Force units landed on Kathiawar Peninsula to surround the small principedom of Junagadh, whose Moslem leader had joined Pakistan. Indian troops were reported ordered to cut off Junagadh's sea lanes to Pakistan, but not to penetrate the state or intimidate the Moslem population of neighboring states.
- The New Delhi newspaper, *Statesman*, reported that Chitral had passed out of the suzerainty of Kashmir and had joined Pakistan.
- Oct. 8:* Pakistan announced its willingness to negotiate with India on the problem arising from Junagadh's decision to join Pakistan; these negotiations were to be contingent on India's withdrawing its military forces from Junagadh's borders.
- Oct. 13:* Britain, the Netherlands, France, and Belgium opposed India's proposal that all nations place their colonial territories under the international trusteeship system.
- Oct. 14:* Indian Army statistics revealed that more than 7,250,000 persons had been displaced by communal disturbances since August 15.
- Oct. 15:* Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan stated there would be no deliberate transfer of minority populations in Punjab, but only an organized evacuation "of those who wish to go."
- Oct. 19:* The Nizam of Hyderabad was under-

stood to have refused the terms of accession to the Dominion of India accepted by other states, i.e., India's full control of defense, foreign affairs, and communications.

Oct. 21: Moscow radio announced the appointment of K. V. Novikov as Soviet Ambassador to India.

Oct. 22: Representatives of the Nizam of Hyderabad were reported to have reached agreement with India to maintain the *status quo* on the question of sovereignty for one year.

Oct. 23: India announced it had taken over direct control of the State of Manavadar, despite the Moslem prince's announcement that it would join Pakistan.

The last 5,000 Moslem evacuees from Delhi were announced ready to leave for Pakistan by special train on Oct. 24; 200,000 Moslems would then remain in Delhi.

Oct. 24: The "Provisional Government of Kashmir" announced that its rule had been established over most of the predominantly Moslem Kashmir State, and that the Hindu Maharajah and his Prime Minister had fled; that the new government was to include both Moslems and non-Moslems, and that the question of accession to India or Pakistan could be decided "only by a free vote of the people." A Moslem army was reported battling the Maharajah's Hindu troops.

Oct. 27: Sir Hari Singh, Hindu ruler of Kashmir and Jammu, announced that his state had joined India "in the emergency situation." Mountbatten accepted the accession "in the special circumstances," stating that when the present threat was removed, "steps will be taken to ascertain the will of the people."

Oct. 28: Jinnah invited Mountbatten and Nehru to Lahore for a conference on the situation in Kashmir.

The Nizam of Hyderabad officially announced that his government did not contemplate joining the Indian Union.

Oct. 30: Pakistan declared it could not recognize Kashmir's accession to India because this move was "based on fraud and violence."

Nov. 1: Indian troops occupied the small Kathiawar Peninsula states of Babariawad and Mangrol, which had acceded to India but were still claimed by Pakistan.

Representatives of India and Pakistan met at Lahore to discuss the Kashmir problem. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Nehru were all absent.

Pakistan became a member of the I.L.O.

Nov. 2: In a radio address, Nehru suggested that

UN supervise a Kashmir referendum to determine the state's future.

Pakistan protested strongly India's taking over direct control of the State of Manavadar, after Manavadar had formally acceded to Pakistan.

Hindu troops recaptured Pattan, 17 miles from Srinagar.

Nov. 5: Invading tribesmen and insurgents in Kashmir suffered defeats, with a three-pronged drive on the capital apparently stopped.

India and Pakistan exchanged telegraphic notes accusing each other of breaching "international conventions" in Kashmir.

Nov. 7: In London, Kashmir invaders were accused by High Commissioner V. K. Krishna Nemon of India of being sanctioned and organized by the Pakistan Government.

Nov. 8: An Indian Government communiqué reported that Indian troops had captured the strategic Kashmir town of Baramula, 25 miles west of Srinagar. Moslems were said to be fleeing west toward borders of North-West Frontier Province.

Nov. 10: India took over on a "temporary" basis the administration of Junagadh, as Indian troops took possession of the city.

Mountbatten left India for London.

Pakistan demanded the withdrawal of Indian troops from Junagadh.

Nov. 11: The Pakistan Ministry of Defense denied Indian allegations that Pakistan army officers were directing operations in Kashmir against the state forces. India sent troops to Tripura State, on the eastern border of the Pakistan Province of East Bengal, to forestall agitation across the border for the accession of Tripura to Pakistan.

Nov. 12: India formally withdrew from the race for UN Security Council membership after a twelfth ballot deadlock.

India introduced a resolution to the General Assembly of the UN to call South Africa, India, and Pakistan to discussions on improvement of the treatment of South Africa's Indians.

The Joint Defense Council of India and Pakistan announced that the British Government would close the Supreme Commander's headquarters on Nov. 30 instead of April 1, 1948, as originally planned, because of the "absence of necessary spirit of good will and cooperation" between the two states, making it impossible for General Auchinleck and his officers to discharge their task of reorganizing

the armed forces of British India as two separate forces.

Nov. 14: Pakistan, Mexico, the Philippines, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and Egypt joined India in denouncing South Africa's race discrimination policy.

Nov. 16: Acharya Kripalani, president of the Indian Congress Party, presented his resignation to the Congress Party's central committee in New Delhi.

Twenty-five ships were stranded in Bombay harbor as 30,000 stevedores struck for abolition of the system whereby employers hire dock workers through village headmen.

Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, proposed that the UN should be asked immediately to send representatives to stop the fighting in Kashmir.

Nov. 17: The UN General Assembly's Political and Security Committee approved a modified version of the Indian resolution condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa, by a vote of 29 to 16.

The Indian Constituent Assembly met as a sovereign legislature for the first time, electing G. V. Mavalankar, Congress leader, as its first speaker.

Nov. 20: The Indian Parliament passed a bill giving the government special press censorship powers in the provinces of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, because of the emergency situation.

The Indian Government announced the same terms for British volunteers in the Indian Army and Navy as were announced previously for Pakistan. Army volunteers would sign for one, two, or three years; navy for three years; and the air force for two years.

Nov. 21: India dropped its UN resolution calling for a settlement of the racial discrimination dispute with South Africa.

Nov. 23: The Finance Ministry announced that the Government of India was considering "parallel measures" to counter Pakistan's recently announced export levy on jute.

Nov. 25: Nehru directly accused "high officials of the Pakistan Government" of complicity in the tribal invasion of Kashmir and Jammu.

It was announced that the "standstill" agreement between India and Hyderabad would be extended for one year from Nov. 29.

Iran

Iran's rejection of the proposed oil agreement with Soviet Russia marked the end of the

aftermath of World War II. The bid which the USSR had made for control of northern Iran through an autonomous Azerbaijan and the requested concession in the northern provinces was now exhausted. But the attacks which Moscow began to level against Prime Minister Qavam and reports of renewed subversive activity in Azerbaijan indicated that the field already was being reploughed for the next sowing.

The defeat of the oil agreement was not without its significance for Qavam's own position as Prime Minister. While Moscow attacked him for his failure to secure its ratification, personal antagonists in the Majlis (Parliament) put him under fire for having discussed the agreement at all. A period of parliamentary maneuvering ensued, with the Shah attempting to strengthen his position through a constitutional amendment placing the appointment and dismissal of the Prime Minister in his hands, rather than in the hands of the Majlis. Qavam's newly founded Democratic Party of Iran, now that the elections were over, broke into its component parts, and his continuance in office was dubious. In the meantime, as Tehran made no attempt to draw the provinces into closer relationship with the central government, disruptive tendencies within Iran still remained to tempt the opportunist.

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 7: Abdul Qadir Azad, member of the Majlis (Parliament), accused Prime Minister Qavam of violating the 1944 oil law (prohibiting the discussion of oil concessions with foreigners) in his negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Tass, official news agency of the Soviet Union, reported that the Soviets had sent a note to Iran asserting that the stand of the Iranian Government on the proposed Soviet-Iranian oil company was a "return to the policy of enmity and discrimination against the Soviet Union."

Sept. 10: It was reported that Soviet Ambassador to Iran, Ivan V. Sadchikov, had told Prime Minister Qavam that Russia would consider Iran a "bitter blood enemy" if the oil pact was not approved by the Majlis.

Sept. 11: George Allen, U. S. Ambassador to

Iran, speaking before the Iran-American Relations Society, stated that the U. S. would support the right of Iran to decide the disposition of its natural resources.

It was reported that the Iranian Government was setting aside \$600,000 for border security and for the forced transfer to Southern Iran of several thousand illegal immigrants from Soviet Azerbaijan.

Prime Minister Qavam presented his new Cabinet. The only change was the appointment of Nuri Isfandiari as Minister of Foreign Affairs. (*London Times*, Sept. 12, 1947, page 3.)

Sept. 13: Prime Minister Qavam denied that Sir John Le Rougetel, the British Ambassador, had advocated the continuance of negotiations for a Soviet oil concession if the Majlis refused to ratify the present agreement. Qavam also disclosed that Soviet Ambassador Ivan Sadchikov had urged him to sign a "supplementary" oil agreement identical with the 1946 arrangement before presenting it to the Majlis, but that he had refused because of the Iranian law preventing him from signing any oil agreement with a foreign power without first securing the Majlis' approval.

Sept. 14: In presenting his new cabinet to the Majlis, the Prime Minister outlined a nine-point program.

Sept. 15: It was reported that a second Soviet note had been delivered urging prompt action on the oil agreement by the Majlis.

Sept. 18: Iran charged the Afghans with diverting the waters of the Helmand River from the province of Sistan, so causing crop failures.

Sept. 19: It was reported that Mozaffar Firuz, dismissed in August as Iranian Ambassador to Moscow, had "vanished" on his way to Tehran by air (Sept. 14). It was also learned that Firuz had been indicted on charges said to include treason and embezzlement.

It was further disclosed that Jaafar Pishvari, who fled to the Soviet Union after the fall of the Azerbaijan separatist movement, was also missing. According to the Soviets he had died in a motor accident near Baku.

Sept. 28: Prime Minister Qavam was subjected to a personal and political attack in the Majlis and retaliated by walking out, followed by his Ministers and about 90 deputies.

Pravda reported that mass repressions against anyone with Soviet connections were being carried out in Azerbaijan by the gendarmerie under the direction of Brig. Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkopf.

The Majlis appropriated \$50,000 for the

removal of *mohajirs* (illegal immigrants) from Azerbaijan. Brig. Gen. Schwartzkopf said the round-up of such immigrants probably had been the source of the Moscow accusation of mass arrests in Azerbaijan.

Sept. 30: The Majlis ended its debate on Prime Minister Qavam's national program.

Oct. 5: Premier Qavam received a vote of confidence from the Majlis, 93-27.

Oct. 22: The Majlis, by a vote of 102 to 2, rejected Soviet demands for an oil concession and endorsed Prime Minister Qavam's five-point bill providing for the exploration and exploitation by Iran of its own resources and for future negotiation regarding the sale to the Soviet Union of oil which might be produced in northern Iran.

Oct. 25: *Pravda* charged that Qavam's refusal to carry out the Soviet-Iranian oil pact was adopted "under American pressure."

Nov. 5: Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi officially ratified the Majlis' rejection of the oil agreement with the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Qavam sent a note to the Soviet Government officially informing it of the rejection of the oil agreement.

Nov. 16: Ibrahim Khajeh Nuri resigned as Deputy Prime Minister.

Nov. 17: Dr. Sayyid Jalaaladdin Tehrani was appointed Minister without Portfolio and parliamentary assistant to Prime Minister Qavam.

Nov. 20: Prime Minister Qavam received a note from the Soviet Union which accused the Iranian Government of "treacherously violating obligations and gross discriminations against the U.S.S.R." in view of the fact that British concessions in southern Iran remained.

Nov. 30: *Trud*, Soviet trade union paper, accused George Allen, U. S. Ambassador to Iran, of instructing the Majlis to reject the Soviet-Iranian oil agreement.

The Cabinet and the Majlis met in secret session at the request of Prime Minister Qavam.

Italian Colonies

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Oct. 3: The first meeting of the Four Power Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies on the future of the Italian colonies opened in London with René Massigli, French Ambassador, George Zarubin, Soviet Ambassador,

and Waldemar Gallman, U. S. Deputy in the absence of Ambassador Douglas, attending.

Oct. 9: Emperor Haile Selassie rejected the idea of a "greater Somaliland," and reaffirmed his country's claim to the former Italian colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. (*London Times*, Oct. 10, 1947, page 3.)

Oct. 20: The heads of the delegations on the Four Power investigating commission were announced: John E. Utter (U. S.); F. E. Stafford (Britain); Burin des Roziers (France); Russian representative not determined. The task of the commission was to determine the views of the inhabitants of the former Italian colonies on economic, political, and social conditions.

Oct. 22: The Four Power investigating commission agreed on the order in which the former Italian colonies were to be visited: Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Libya.

Oct. 31: A request of the Egyptian Embassy in London that a representative of the Arab League be appointed to act as an observer with the investigating commission was refused by the Foreign Ministers' Deputies.

An Italian rumor of a clash between Arabs and Somalis at Mogadishu, Italian Somaliland, was confirmed in reports reaching the British Embassy. (*London Times*, Nov. 1, 1947, page 3.)

Nov. 3: A midnight curfew was established at Mogadishu after Somali gendarmerie had fired on Arab and Somali rioters, killing eight Arabs and one Somali. (*London Times*, Nov. 4, 1947, page 3.)

Nov. 8: The investigating commission left London.

Nov. 9: Members of the investigating commission arrived in Cairo enroute to Asmara, Eritrea.

Lebanon

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 4: It was announced that the Mediterranean terminal of the Trans-Arabian pipe line would be at a point near Sidon, about 30 miles south of Beirut.

Sept. 14: All opposition groups except the National Bloc, meeting in Tripoli, decided to insist on the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of new elections. (*Palestine Affairs*, Oct. 1947, page 107.)

North Africa

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Oct. 11: The Residents-General of Tunis and Morocco and the Governor-General of Algeria met in Paris with French Government leaders to discuss the economic, political, and social situation in French North Africa.

Elections started in former French colonies for the first Assembly of the French Union.

Oct. 12: The North African Independence Movement, in a 24,000 word appeal, asked the UN General Assembly to consider the threat to international peace and security resulting from France's "oppressive" actions in North Africa.

On a visit to Algiers, Charles de Gaulle told Algerians that the Soviet Union was seeking the "dislocation" of the French Union through agitation in North Africa.

Nov. 16: Reforms to give Moroccans more responsibilities in the French Protectorate Government were announced through the Sultan in Rabat: consultive groups were to be set up in each district to advise the French on agriculture, commerce, and industry. The Istiqlal Party attacked the new reforms as an attempt by the French to perpetuate their influence.

Palestine

(For the developments of the quarter, see page 60. For chronology of Palestine and the U.N., see page 71.)

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 8: Lieut. Gen. G. H. A. MacMillan, British military commander in Palestine, arrived in Great Britain.

Sept. 8-9: Jewish refugees who had tried to enter Palestine on the *Exodus 1947* on July 18 were debarked at Hamburg, Germany.

Sept. 11: The mayors of Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan, held as suspected terrorist sympathizers since August 5, were released from Latrun detention camp.

Sept. 12: Sami Taha, Secretary-General of the Arab Labor Federation, was assassinated at Haifa.

Sept. 13: The third annual conference of the Palestine Arab Workers' Party was held at Jaffa. (*Arab News Bulletin*, Oct. 3, 1947.)

- Sept. 15:** Col. V. H. Rivers, deputy director of labor at the British military headquarters in Palestine, was killed by Arab bandits while traveling south of Hebron.
- Sept. 18:** The British army and Palestine police arrested 19 persons in Jerusalem on suspicion of terrorist connections.
- Sept. 26:** Terrorists (allegedly Irgunists) stole \$180,000 from a police armored car in Tel Aviv and killed four British constables.
- New restrictions were imposed on imports by the Palestine Government, and a reduction in the amount of money allowed to persons intending to travel outside the sterling area. (For details, see *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Nov. 8, 1947.)
- Sept. 27:** About 450 unauthorized Jewish immigrants aboard the *Af Al Pi Khan* were transferred to deportation ships at Haifa.
- The Swedish consulate in Jerusalem was bombed.
- Sept. 29:** In Haifa, ten British and Arab policemen were killed and 53 others injured by explosives set off by members of the Irgun.
- Oct. 2:** Two vessels from Black Sea ports, the *Geulah* (formerly *Paducah*) and the *Medina Ivriv* (formerly *Northlands*), bringing 3,500-4,000 unauthorized Jewish immigrants to Palestine, were intercepted by British naval authorities.
- Oct. 3:** An Arab strike was called in Palestine to dramatize the demand for independence and unity.
- Oct. 7:** Two Arabs were killed by a Haganah bombing near Lydda, in reprisal for two Jews killed on Oct. 3.
- Oct. 12:** A bomb exploded at the Polish consulate in Jerusalem.
- Oct. 13:** A bomb was thrown at the U. S. consulate in Jerusalem, causing minor damage.
- Oct. 18:** The appointment of Taha Hashimi Pasha as Arab commander-in-chief was announced in a Palestinian Arab newspaper.
- Oct. 22:** It was announced that the Jewish National Council in Palestine had established a Legal Department.
- Oct. 23:** Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, expressed his hope that Palestine would not be partitioned because "the entire Moslem world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically, or morally."
- Oct. 25:** Lebanese officials seized five armed Jews (suspected of being members of Haganah) within Lebanon's borders.
- Oct. 27:** The Irgun warned Haganah by radio that unless attacks on Irgunists ceased, there would be fratricidal war. Street fights were reported between the two groups in Tel Aviv, Rehovoth, and Rishon le Zion.
- Oct. 29:** The Hebrew University reported that its offer of anti-cholera serum and doctors to the Egyptian Government went unanswered.
- Nov. 2:** Irgun offered "peace" to Haganah providing Haganah continued its present policy of restraint. The Arabs called a two hour "symbolic" general strike on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.
- Nov. 3:** Jewish gunmen killed a Jewish police corporal and wounded three British policemen in three shooting incidents; one gunman was killed. Responsibility was unofficially placed on the Stern Gang.
- Palestine authorities put the U. S. and French consulates in heavily-guarded security zones as precaution against attack.
- Nov. 6:** Representatives of eight Jewish workers' parties met in Tel Aviv to draft an appeal to the entire Jewish community to unite against terrorism.
- Nov. 8:** Two ships were reported ready to sail from Rumania with 12,000 immigrants.
- Nov. 10:** A spokesman of the Citrus Fruit Marketing Board announced that Palestine would sell Britain 10,000,000 cases of citrus fruits for the year at a price of about \$40,000,000. The total crop would be about 17,000,000 cases.
- Nov. 11:** Vaad Leumi's executive committee voted a new drive to raise funds for the defense of the Jewish community. Its goal was the collection of \$2,000,000 in voluntary contributions before Dec. 31.
- Nov. 12:** Five persons—one British soldier, four Jews—were killed in new terrorist outbreaks.
- Nov. 13:** Jewish terrorists killed four British civilians and one policeman, and wounded 26 soldiers in attacks in Haifa and Jerusalem.
- Nov. 14:** Two British policemen and two soldiers killed by Jewish terrorists.
- Nov. 16:** An illegal refugee ship landed 200 unauthorized immigrants on the Palestinian coast in the first successful landing since March. A second ship carrying 794 persons was intercepted and brought to Haifa.
- Nov. 20:** The Stern Gang killed four Arabs; five Jews were shot by Arabs in retaliation.
- Nov. 22:** One Arab was killed and another wounded in Haifa by shots from a passing automobile, following the appearance of Hariyeh (clandestine Arab organization) posters challenging Stern Gang members to battle.

Nov. 30: Arabs killed seven Jews in ambush; Arab prisoners in Acre prison attacked Jewish inmates. The Palestine Arab Higher Committee called for a three-day general strike beginning December 2. Husayn Khaladi, acting chairman, stated the Arabs would wage a holy war if an attempt was made to enforce partition.

Palestine and the United Nations

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 2: The Zionist General Council, meeting in Zurich, Switzerland, adopted a resolution which said in part: "The Council notes with satisfaction that a substantial majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine [UNSCOP] recommended the early establishment of a sovereign Jewish state."

Sept. 7: In Palestine, Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL) broadcasts denounced the proposal of partition as suggested by the UNSCOP majority report.

Sept. 8: The text of the UNSCOP report was released to the public. (Text in *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1947, pages 33-40.)

Sept. 15: Musa al-Alami, speaking for the Arab Office representing the seven Arab League states, rejected the recommendations of UNSCOP and reiterated the Arabs' determination to resist the partition of Palestine.

Sept. 17: Addressing the UN General Assembly, Secretary of State George Marshall stated in part: "The Government of the United States gives great weight not only to the recommendations which have met with the unanimous approval of the Special Committee but also to those which have been approved by the majority of that committee." (Text in *New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1947, page 3.)

Sept. 18: The UN Steering Committee agreed to the creation of a special committee to deal with the question of Palestine.

Sept. 19: The Political Committee of the Arab League met in Sofar, Lebanon, and adopted resolutions denouncing the UNSCOP report and threatening armed resistance if attempts to enforce the report were made.

Sept. 20: The British Cabinet decided to accept the majority recommendations of UNSCOP, provided the UN participated in implementing them.

Sept. 23: The General Assembly approved the

creation of a special committee of all member nations to deal with the UNSCOP report.

Sept. 25: The Special Committee on Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly held its first meeting at Lake Success; Herbert Evatt of Australia was elected chairman.

Sept. 26: Arthur Creech Jones, British Colonial Secretary, announced that Great Britain had decided to terminate the Palestine mandate and was drawing up plans for the withdrawal of British forces and administrative personnel from Palestine. (Text in *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1947, page 2.)

Sept. 29: Jamal al-Husayni, acting chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, told the General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine that Palestinian Arabs would accept neither partition nor a federal state. (Text in *New York Times*, Sept. 30, 1947, page 14.)

Oct. 2: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American branch of the Jewish Agency, told the General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine that the Jewish Agency would accept the partition of Palestine. (Text in *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1947, page 20.)

Oct. 11: U. S. willingness to accept partition was announced by Herschel Johnson. (Text in *New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1947, page 64.)

Oct. 13: The Soviet Union endorsed the proposed partition of Palestine in a speech made by Semyon K. Tsarapkin. (Text in *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1947, page 3.)

Oct. 18: Jamal al-Husayni and Chaim Weizmann made final Arab and Jewish appeals before the General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine. (Text in *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1947, pages 26 and 27.)

Oct. 21: The General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine set up three sub-committees to consider the majority plan as recommended by UNSCOP, the Arab proposals for independence, and conciliation.

Oct. 23: The two chief subcommittees began their study of the Palestinian problem.

Oct. 29: Hadassah joined the Jewish Agency in "reluctant acceptance of the principle of partition in Palestine."

The British Government indicated unofficially that Great Britain would leave Palestine in six months if no settlement was reached.

Oct. 31: The U. S. proposed to the subcommittee that partition take effect July 1, 1948; that 6,250 Jewish immigrants be allowed each month until that time; and that Britain should continue maintenance of order until transfer

of power to the proposed Arab and Jewish states.

Nov. 1: Arab UN delegates announced unqualified rejection of the U. S. partition plan. British delegates unofficially opposed U. S. plan on the grounds that it put the bulk of enforcement on the British.

Nov. 3: The U. S. was reported ready to oppose inclusion of the entire Negeb in the Jewish zone, on the grounds that the proposed Jewish state included 60 per cent of Palestine's area as well as practically all citrus-growing areas, and because the nomad Beduins (70-90,000) lived in the Negeb. The USSR proposed that Britain surrender the mandate by Jan. 1 and withdraw all troops by April 30, 1948.

Nov. 5: The U. S. modified its partition plan in an effort to meet criticisms of the USSR; the revised plan would place matters of "international peace and security" under the Security Council instead of the General Assembly.

Nov. 10: The U. S. and the USSR agreed to support a partition plan calling for (a) end of British mandate and military occupation by May 1; (b) establishment by the Assembly of a UN Commission of three to five members, to be responsible to the Security Council.

Nov. 11: The subcommittee recommended inclusion in the Jewish state of 47,000 dunums along the Nazareth-Tiberias road (now inhabited by 400 Arabs, no Jews) for a proposed irrigation reservoir.

Nov. 12: The subcommittee agreed that the Arab port of Jaffa should be transferred from the proposed Jewish state to the Arab state; the Jewish Agency expressed approval and offered a ring of undeveloped land surrounding Jaffa to give the city room for expansion.

Nov. 13: Sir Alexander Cadogan stated the British view on partition: Britain intended to withdraw its troops as soon as possible; evacuation would be completed by Aug. 1, 1948; troops would keep law and order only in the areas which they physically occupied; they would not be available to help enforce partition; the British Government reserved the right to terminate the mandate and civil administration of Palestine at any time after the General Assembly reached a decision on Palestine's future; British authorities would not take any responsibility for a UN settlement that was not acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. (Text in *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1947, page 10.)

Nov. 16: King Abdallah of Transjordan stated his country would remain neutral in the

Palestine dispute and would fight "only in the defense of justice and humanity unless the Jews rise in revolt." He urged all non-Palestinian Arabs and Jews to follow a "hands off policy" and allow Palestine to work out its own solution through the UN.

Nov. 17: The partition plan was approved by the "working party" of the partition subcommittee. The plan would end the mandate by August 1, and set up two states by Oct. 1, 1948.

Nov. 20: The British Government stated it would not share jurisdiction with a UN commission during the transition period prior to the proposed partition of Palestine; that it would transfer complete authority to the commission at one time, not area by area, as proposed by the General Assembly's partition subcommittee. (Text in *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1947, page 15.)

Nov. 24: The Arab proposal to create a single Palestinian state was rejected by the General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine by a 29-12 vote, with 14 abstentions. An Arab proposal to refer the whole question of previous commitments concerning Palestine to the International Court of Justice was defeated 25-18, with 11 abstentions. An Arab proposal to query the World Court on the power of the UN to carry out partition without the consent of the inhabitants of Palestine was defeated 21 to 20, with 16 abstentions. An Arab resolution emphasizing the obligation of all members of the UN to accept their share of Jewish refugees resulted in a 16-16 tie. Chairman Evatt ruled that the resolution be referred to the full General Assembly.

Nov. 25: The General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine accepted the U. S. recommendation that Jaffa remain in the Arab state. Two sections of the Negeb, including the Beersheba area and a strip along the Egyptian border, were also assigned to the Arabs in an effort more nearly to equalize the two states. The Special Committee approved the partition plan by 25 to 13, with 17 abstentions; 2 absent.

Nov. 29: The General Assembly passed the partition plan by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions; 1 absent. The Arabs walked out of the Assembly after the vote, announcing that they would have nothing to do with the UN Commission for Palestine, with the transitional period after the mandate's end, or with partition.

The partition plan called for the establishment of two independent states in Palestine on or

before Oct. 1, 1948. The plan called for a Jewish state comprising 53% of the area and an Arab state comprising 47% of the area. The plan provided for a transitional period of one year after the end of the mandate, during which the UN would supervise the transfer of power and the establishment of the two states. The plan also provided for the evacuation of Jewish refugees from the Arab state and the admission of Arab refugees to the Jewish state. The plan was rejected by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947, by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions. The Arabs walked out of the Assembly after the vote, announcing that they would have nothing to do with the UN Commission for Palestine, with the transitional period after the mandate's end, or with partition.

before Oct. 1, 1948: a Jewish state (then occupied by 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs); and an Arab state (then occupied by 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews). The city of Jerusalem and its environs was to be administered under a permanent Trusteeship Council. (For map, see frontispiece.)

Further provisions of the plan were as follows: British troops will be withdrawn progressively, withdrawal to be completed before Aug. 1, 1948; on that date, or earlier if possible, the mandate for Palestine shall terminate. In setting up an evacuation schedule, Britain will "use its best endeavors" to evacuate before Feb. 1, 1948, an area in the Jewish state, including a seaport and surrounding hinterland, adequate to provide facilities for substantial immigration. In all cases, the mandatory power is instructed to work closely with local governments in evacuation plans.

During the transition period between adoption of partition and the establishment of final independence, a five-man UN commission will administer Palestine for the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. This commission, after consultations with Arab and Jewish bodies, will set up two provisional governing councils with broad authority in their respective areas, including authority over immigration and land regulation; they may recruit armed militias to maintain internal order and prevent frontier clashes, with the proviso that general political and military control remain with the commission. Within two months after British withdrawal, these councils must hold democratic elections to a constituent assembly; voters will be Palestinian citizens of the state concerned, or citizens of either state who have signified their intention of becoming citizens of the state in which elections are being held. The new assemblies will draft their own democratic constitutions and choose a provisional government to succeed the provisional council.

A ten-year economic union is to be established which will include the following features: a customs union; a joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate; nondiscriminatory operation of railways, interstate highways, postal, telephone and telegraphic services, and ports and airports; joint economic development, especially of irrigation, reclamation, and conservation; nondiscriminatory access to water and power facilities. A joint economic board, consisting of three representatives from each of the two states and three UNESCO appointees, will be set up. Each state will operate

its own bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, and the grant of import licenses; each may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit. There will be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the three entities, and a provision for equitable division of surplus customs revenue, but limiting the amount either state may obtain from the surplus to £4,000,000 above the contribution of that state to the revenue.

Protection of existing rights in regard to holy places, religious buildings and sites will be the special concern of the governor of Jerusalem. All residents of Jerusalem are to be *ipso facto* citizens of that city, unless they opt for citizenship in another state, or have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish states. Each state must insure adequate primary and secondary education for its Arab or Jewish minority in the minority's own language and cultural tradition; no restriction shall be imposed on freedom of worship, or on the free use by any citizen of any language.

Saudi Arabia

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 3: It was announced that the Saudi Arabian Government had condemned the August 4 statement of King Abdallah of Transjordan calling for a constitutional convention of all Syrians, terming it contrary to the rules of international law, the UN Charter, and the Pact of the Arab League. (*London Times*, Sept. 3, 1947, page 3.)

Sept. 26: The U. S. Department of Commerce granted the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co. a license to ship 20,000 tons of steel to Saudi Arabia between October and December, for the construction of an oil pipe line. (*Palestine Affairs*, Oct. 1947, page 108.)

Syria

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 1: Premier Jamil Mardam of Syria and William J. Lanahan, Middle East representative of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co., signed a convention providing for the construction of a pipe line through Syria.

Sept. 15: President Shukri al-Quwwatli attacked

- the Greater Syria scheme of King Abdallah of Transjordan and called on Transjordan to "re-join the Syrian Republic." (*Palestine Affairs*, Oct. 1947, page 107.)
- Oct. 2:* Prime Minister Jamil Mardam resigned in order to allow the formation of a new government based on the recent elections.
- Nov. 7:* Thirty persons were killed or injured during a riot at Deir ez-Zor, when crowds stormed government offices as a result of a failure to deliver wheat rations on time.
- New elections in the Jebel Druze were postponed indefinitely because of political tension. Members of the Populist Party were reported to have attacked members of the Atrash Party. (*London Times*, Nov. 8, 1947, page 3.)
- Nov. 16:* Two divisions of Syrian troops held maneuvers midway between Damascus and Al-Kuneitra, near the Palestine border.
- Nov. 30:* A crowd of Syrians, protesting the proposed partition of Palestine, stoned the U. S. and French legations in Damascus, and hauled down the American flag. They then proceeded to the headquarters of the Syrian Communist Party, which they stormed and burned, killing four communists.

Turkey

CHRONOLOGY

1947

- Sept. 2:* Maj. Gen. Horace L. McBride was appointed head of the U. S. Army Group Mission to Turkey.
- The U. S.-Turkish agreement on aid to Turkey was ratified by the National Assembly.
- Sept. 3:* Compulsory work in the mines, adopted during the war, was ended.
- Sept. 4:* U. S. aid to Turkey began through the delivery of non-military equipment and the turning over of vehicles from U. S. army and navy surplus in the Mediterranean.
- Sept. 5:* Five ministers in the cabinet of Prime Minister Recep Peker were replaced by the following:
- M. Birsal—Minister of National Defense
 - M. H. Göle—Minister of the Interior
 - C. Ekin—Minister of Economy
 - S. Adalan—Minister of Agriculture
 - T. B. Balta—Minister of Labor
- Finance Minister N. Kışmır was named to serve provisionally as Minister of Commerce, replacing A. Inan.
- Sept. 9:* Prime Minister Recep Peker resigned. President İnönü asked Foreign Minister Hasan Saka to form a new cabinet.

- Sept. 11:* Prime Minister Hasan Saka's cabinet was presented as follows:
- Faik Ahmed Barutçu—Deputy Prime Minister
 - Mustafa Abdülhak Çankırı—Minister without Portfolio
 - Şinasi Devrin—Minister of Justice
 - Münir Birsal—Minister of Defense
 - Münir Hüsrev Göle—Minister of the Interior
 - Necmettin Sadak—Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - Halit Nazmi Kışmır—Minister of Finance
 - Reşat Şemsettin Sırer—Minister of Education
 - Kasım Gülek—Minister of Public Works
 - Cavit Ekin—Minister of Economy
 - Dr. Behçet Uz—Minister of Health
 - Şevket Adalan—Minister of Custom and Monopolies
 - Tahsin Coşkan—Minister of Agriculture
 - Şükrü Koçak—Minister of Communications
 - Mahmut Nedim Gündüzalp—Minister of Commerce
 - Tahsin Bekir Balta—Minister of Labor
- Sept. 12:* By an order of the Turkish Government, the Central Bank was prohibited from selling gold, unrestricted since the devaluation of the Turkish pound in 1946. (*London Times*, Sept. 13, 1947, page 3.)
- Sept. 18:* Turkey and Yugoslavia signed a trade agreement covering liquidation of pre-war credits as well as trade terms. Payment for goods was to be made in "free currency" (dollars).
- Sept. 25:* The Turkish Government issued a decree prohibiting all exports for sterling because of Turkish accumulations of £20,000,000. (*London Times*, Sept. 27, 1947, page 3.)
- Oct. 3:* Tass announced that the Soviet Union had protested officially against the "recruiting of Moslem Soviet citizens" by Turkey throughout displaced persons camps in Italy and Germany.
- Oct. 7:* Gen. Salih Omurtak, Chief of the Turkish General Staff, arrived in the U. S. for a tour of U. S. military installations and industrial plants.
- Oct. 9:* A Turkish repatriation mission offered Turkish citizenship to Moslem displaced persons of all nationalities upon their immigration to Turkey. Such immigrants would be free from taxation for five years; would be exempt from compulsory military training for three

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years; and would receive financial help the first year.

Oct. 14: The Grand National Assembly gave the government of Prime Minister Hasan Saka a vote of confidence, 362 to 49. (*London Times*, Oct. 15, 1947, page 3.)

Oct. 16: The first of 88 locomotives to be purchased by Turkey from the U. S. under a loan made by the Export-Import Bank was delivered.

Oct. 24: The Board of Directors of Ankara University decided to refer the case of five professors accused of communist activities to the National Assembly, so depriving them of an opportunity to testify in court.

Oct. 31: Eight British Members of Parliament arrived in Ankara on a two week's visit to Turkey. (*London Times*, Nov. 1, 1947, page 3.)

Nov. 1: The new session of the Grand National Assembly was opened by President İnönü. Gen. Kazim Karabekir was re-elected President of the Assembly. (*London Times*, Nov. 3, 1947, page 3.)

Nov. 10: The members of the Turkish military mission under Gen. Omurtak reached London

from the U. S. (*London Times*, Nov. 11, 1947, page 4.)

Nov. 17: President İnönü opened the National Congress of the People's Party with a speech in which he reaffirmed his decision to relinquish leadership of the party. (*London Times*, Nov. 18, 1947, page 3.)

Nov. 24: Delegates of the International Labour Office met in Istanbul to discuss living conditions of agricultural workers in the Middle East.

The U. S. State Department announced that responsibility for road construction in Turkey under the aid program had been assumed by the U. S. Public Roads Administration.

Nov. 29: Government delegates from Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon attending the ILO conference at Istanbul adopted resolutions aimed to protect agricultural and industrial workers in Middle Eastern countries.

Yemen

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Sept. 30: Yemen was formally admitted to UN.

DOCUMENTS

*Agreement concluded between the HASHIMITE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN AND THE PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT (TRANSJORDAN) LTD., MAY 10, 1947.*¹

By:

HIS EXCELLENCY SAMĪR PASHA AL-RIFĀ'Ī, Prime Minister of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, for the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan (called hereinafter the "Government") as party of the first part,

And:

MR. GEOFFREY H. HARRIDGE, for the Petroleum Development (Transjordan) Ltd., whose headquarters are in London, Laing House, Dominion Street (and called hereinafter the "Company"), as party of the second part.

Whenever the word "Company" is used it shall apply not only to the Company itself, but to its legal agents and every company, subsidiary, or limited company legally established and used by the Company to achieve the purpose defined in Article I of this agreement.

The accord was concluded on the following basis:

ARTICLE I

On the Purpose of the Agreement

The Government grants the Company by virtue of this agreement and in accordance with the conditions and terms mentioned hereinafter the exclusive right to investigate its hydrocarbonic substances, fluid and gas, in particular petroleum, naphtha, natural gases, and ozocerites; to search and drill for them; to exploit these substances, their derivatives and by-products; to prepare them for purposes of trade and refining; and to transport, export, or sell them.

¹ Unofficial translation of text as published in the *Transjordan Official Gazette*, No. 904, May 11, 1947.

ARTICLE II

On the Term

This agreement shall continue for a period of 75 years from its date.

Upon the expiration of the term of this agreement, all the rights granted in accordance with Article I shall become abrogated, and everything owned by the Company, in the form of lands, buildings, wells, piers, pipe lines, roads, railroads, tools, and equipment, and all the appurtenances in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan used for the work and operations which the Company shall carry on in accordance with this agreement, shall become the property of the Government without compensation and free from any obligations toward a third party.

ARTICLE III

On the Zone of the Agreement

This agreement shall embrace all the lands and waters of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

However, the Company is forbidden to carry on any activity within cemeteries and places consecrated to worship and in locations containing antiquities.

Upon the expiration of the fifth year from the date of this agreement, the Company must relinquish to the Government all of its rights over an area equal to one-third of all the area embraced by this agreement.

Upon the expiration of the twenty-fifth year from the date of this agreement, the Company must relinquish to the Government all of its rights over an additional area equal to one-third of the original area.

The remaining area may be constituted by the Company into one or more units of any form whatsoever.

ARTICLE IV

On the Drilling Operations

The Company must commence drilling operations within 18 months from the date of

this agreement. However, if the Company is unable to do so because of practical difficulties, such as inability to reach the region of drilling or delay in the arrival of necessary materials and equipment due to causes beyond its power to control, and it finds that it cannot begin drilling within the 18-month period mentioned above, the stipulated period of time will be increased to two years.

It must drill at least 3,000 meters a year until it can export oil regularly or sell it in amounts of not less than 1,000,000 tons a year.

If oil is not discovered after the expiration of 25 years from the date of this agreement, and with due regard for the terms of Article XXXVII of this agreement (*Force Majeure*), this agreement shall become completely abrogated.

In the calculation of the said drilling obligations, no well less than 400 meters in depth shall be considered.

ARTICLE V

On the Obligations to Export or Sell

With due regard for the terms of Article XXXVII (*Force Majeure*), the Company must be able within 15 years from the date of this agreement to begin the export or sale of a regular amount equal to 1,000,000 tons of oil per annum.

In spite of the terms of the above clause, and with due regard always for the provisions of Article XXXVII (*Force Majeure*), if one of the wells produces a flow of oil able to yield 1,000 tons of oil daily, with its degree lighter than 35 degree A.P.I., for a period of 15 consecutive days, the Company must be able at the end of the sixth year from the end of the testing of the said well to export or sell a regular amount of oil that shall not be less all told than 1,000,000 tons per annum.

Should the obligations mentioned above not be met, this agreement shall become completely abrogated.

ARTICLE VI

On All Damages on and below the Ground

The Company must hold to a minimum the damages resulting from its operations or from the oil on the surface of the ground near its wells or installations. It must take every pre-

caution to prevent injurious water from seeping into the petroleum deposits and the seepage of injurious substances into the rivers and streams of the country. It must cover or close up abandoned wells.

The Company shall be required to pay reasonable compensation in the event that damages occur for which it is responsible.

ARTICLE VII

On Definitions

In this agreement the terms

English gold pound shall be applied to a unit of specie containing 7.322382 grams of pure gold, abbreviated henceforth as £ (gold);

Gold shilling to 1/20th part of the English gold pound;

Gold pence to 1/240th part of the English gold pound;

Year to a period of 365 or 366 days;

Ton to the English ton weighing 1016.50 kilograms.

The expression "the Company is able to export or sell" means that the Company has one or more oil fields tested and prepared to produce oil and all the necessary installations to transport this oil to points from which it can be exported or sold, crude or refined.

ARTICLE VIII

On Inspection and Reports

(a) A duly authorized representative of the Government shall have the right to inspect the operations of the Company in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, provided that he do so at an appropriate time. The Company shall place at the disposal of this representative, if he requests it, a competent person to explain to him its activities and to give him all the data that he may require. In order to defray the expenses of this inspection, the Company shall pay the Government, from the time it commences drilling operations, a yearly sum of 1400 English gold pounds.

(b) Registration of wells. The Company must keep a register of all the wells that it may drill in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, noting the depth, condition, and nature of the strata through which it may pass or that may be encountered by the drill, and such data shall be set forth in a manner to be specified.

This register together with everything discovered during the drillings shall be subject at any appropriate time to inspection by any person authorized by the Government for this purpose. During the 3-month period following the termination of work on every well, the Company must present to the Government an accurate copy of this register together with all the data on the analysis and quantities of water which it may have found under the earth and of which it has retained a sample.

(c) Geological data. All of the conditions pertinent to geological and geophysical operations together with all the maps containing such data, all the collections of geological samples of the surface strata of rocks, by-products of the drillings, organic fossil remains, and all aerial pictures in the possession of the Company shall be subject to inspection at any suitable time by a person authorized by the Government for this purpose.

It shall be necessary from time to time to deposit in a place to be designated by the Government a true copy of the report explaining all the geological and geophysical data that it may have acquired after presentation of the preceding report together with the maps elucidating this report. This shall be done within six months from the date of the conclusion of the work which may form the subject of this report.

It shall be necessary to deposit in a place to be designated by the Government copies of all the aerial photographs taken for any purpose by the Company or its agents together with copies of any maps made from them. This shall be done within three months from the date of the receipt by the Company of these aerial photographs or maps.

(d) It shall not be permissible, except with the Company's approval, to publish any data or documents based on them or prepared in accordance with this article as long as this agreement remains in effect. Likewise, no one shall see them except authorized employees of the Government when required to do so by their official duties. This data may not be used for any purpose other than to carry out the activities assigned by the Government and that may be performed by one of the official agencies.

(e) There shall be set up for the Company in Amman an office that shall be its headquarters in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan and all communications between the Government and the Company shall be sent to or emanate from this office, and these communications must be written in Arabic and English. However, an Arabic version shall not be required for maps, illustrations, pictures, topographic and geological charts, and, in general, for all documents of purely technical or scientific character.

ARTICLE IX

On the Fixed Financial Costs

(1) The Company must pay the Government during the week following the publication of this agreement in the *Official Gazette* the following sum: 50,000 English gold pounds.

(2) Unless this agreement shall have been previously abrogated by the Government, or the Company shall have relinquished it in accordance with the conditions governing such action set down below, the Company must also pay the Government successive yearly sums of:

15,000 English gold pounds for the year in which the agreement is signed and for each of the two following years.

25,000 English gold pounds for each of the three following years (the fourth, fifth, and sixth).

40,000 English gold pounds for each of the three following years (the seventh, eighth, and ninth).

60,000 English gold pounds for each of the three following years (the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth).

80,000 English gold pounds for each of the three following years (the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth).

(3) If during the above mentioned 15 years the Company should begin the export or sale of a regular amount of oil of no less than 1,000,000 tons per annum, due dates for the payment of the said yearly sums for the years following the year during which these exports or sales took place shall be suspended, and it shall be necessary to pay an annual sum of no less than 100,000 English gold pounds until the termination of this agreement.

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This sum shall be increased to one of the following amounts under the conditions specified below:

(a) 200,000 English gold pounds for each year during which the Company is able to export or sell an amount of oil of no less than 1,000,000 tons of 20 degree A.P.I., or lighter, or

(b) 300,000 English gold pounds for each year during which the Company is able to export or sell an amount of oil of no less than 1,000,000 tons of 25 degree A.P.I., or lighter, or

(c) 400,000 English gold pounds for each year during which the Company is able to export or sell an amount of oil of no less than 1,000,000 tons, the degree of which is lighter than 35 degree A.P.I.

In the application of this agreement, fractions of an A.P.I. degree shall not be calculated, so that lighter than, for example, 35 degree A.P.I. shall mean at least 36 degree A.P.I.

(4) The Government shall be paid the annual sum and the annual contracted obligation mentioned below within the three months following December 31st of the year in which these sums are due.

(5) In lieu of taxes and state fees from payment of which it has been exempted in accordance with Article XXV and in addition to the annual sum mentioned in clauses 2 and 3 above, the Company shall pay the Government one of the following annual contracted obligations:

2,000 English gold pounds for each of the years preceding the years in which payment of the annual sums mentioned in clause 3 above is due, and 15,000 English gold pounds for each of the following years.

(6) Due date of the annual sums and the annual contracted obligations mentioned above shall be subject to *force majeure*, referred to in Article XXXVII.

ARTICLE X

On Royalty

The Company shall pay the Government for all the oil exported or sold whose weight is less than 35 degree A.P.I., a royalty of 4 gold shillings on each ton.

For all the oil exported or sold whose weight is between 35 degree A.P.I. and 25 degree A.P.I. (including these two degrees), a royalty of 3 gold shillings and 6 pence on each ton.

For all the oil exported or sold whose weight is between 25 degree A.P.I. (this degree is not included) and 20 degree A.P.I. (this degree is included), a royalty of 3 gold shillings on each ton.

For all the oil exported or sold whose weight exceeds 20 degree A.P.I., a royalty of 2 gold shillings and 6 pence on each ton.

The Company shall pay a royalty of one gold pence on each 1,000 square meters of the natural gases that it may sell to others as is and in volume on the basis of a temperature of 15 degrees centigrade and one pressure of air pressure.

The Company shall not pay a royalty under any circumstances on:

(1) The water and foreign matter in the oil or combined with it.

(2) The oil or its derivatives which the Company may use for its needs in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

(3) The oil or its derivatives and by-products which the Company is to offer the Government in accordance with the provisions of Article XIV (*Refinery*) and Article XV (*The Quantities Which the State Will Receive Free*) of this agreement.

There shall be deducted from the total amount of the proportional royalty for each year beginning January 1st and ending December 31st the annual sum stipulated in clause 3 of the preceding article for that year, and the balance shall be paid to the Government during the first three months of the following year, with due regard for the terms mentioned below and the terms of Article XI (*Loans*).

Payment of the balance of the proportional royalty stipulated above shall not be made except on the condition that the Company shall have exported or sold during any year oil whose proportional royalty calculated on the total exported or sold is actually less than the annual amount stipulated in clause 3 of the preceding article. The Company may recover the difference from the surplus which may result during at most the five following years in proportional royalty over and above the

annual sum stipulated in the same article. After this period of time (i.e. the five years) the entire remainder shall belong to the Government.

ARTICLE XI

On Loans

(a) If the Company is able within the 15 years mentioned in Article V to discover a flowing well that tests may prove will yield a quantity in excess of 1,000 tons of oil a day for 15 consecutive days, the Company shall lend the Government, at its request, within the three months following this proof, a non-interest bearing sum of 100,000 English gold pounds.

(b) And if within the same period it is able to export or sell continuously an amount of oil totaling no less than 1,000,000 tons a year, it shall lend a non-interest bearing sum of 300,000 English gold pounds.

The two loans just mentioned may be recalled in accordance with the provisions of the last clause of Article X (*Proportional Royalty*).

ARTICLE XII

On Measuring Operations

The Company must measure the weight and quantities of the exported or sold oil and gas by a method agreed to by the Government within three months from the date when such a request is made. An authorized representative of the Government shall have the right to inspect the measuring operations that may be performed in one or more places determined by the Company in accordance with technical necessities and to examine the instruments used.

If this examination reveals a defect in the measuring instruments, the Government shall have the right to require the Company to repair it at its own expense. If this demand is not satisfied within a reasonable period of time, the Government shall have the right to arrange for the repairs by itself and to receive from the Company full payment for the expenses incurred thereby.

If a continuous measuring error in any instrument is revealed by this examination, the Government shall have the right, if it so decides after hearing the statements of the

Company, to consider that error as having been made throughout the three months preceding its discovery or since the last examination of the instruments, if this examination took place within less than three months before the discovery of the error — and the necessary adjustments in calculation of the royalty shall be made.

If the Company decides to change one of the measuring instruments, it must so notify a Government representative to inspect the said change in the regular way.

ARTICLE XIII

On Accounting

The Company must keep complete and accurate accounts of the oil and gas that is measured, as stated above, and an authorized representative of the Government shall have the right at all suitable times to ask the Company to give him the above-mentioned accounting books.

The Company must present to the Government within three months from the end of every year at its expense a summary of the accounts of its exports and sales for the said year, and it must present an explanation of the royalty due the Government for that year. The Company shall be required to present in the months of January and July of every year a complete and accurate statement detailing the amount of oil produced during the past six months.

ARTICLE XIV

On the Refinery

The Government shall have the right at any time after the commencement of the export and sale on an average of no less than 1,000,000 tons a year to ask the Company, provided that it give notification thereof 12 months prior to the request, to build by its experts and on the account and at the expense of the State a refinery equipped to supply the country alone, and the Government must have agreed in advance to the plan of the refinery and to undertake its operation. This refinery shall be built in an economically suitable place to be determined by the Government.

The Company shall supervise the construction of this refinery and the means of trans-

port needed to supply it so that construction may be completed in the shortest possible time.

The Company shall offer the State, so far as it can, crude oil ready for use in the refinery at the well-mouth price equal to the cheapest price of oil of the same kind at the well-mouth that may be extracted at that time in the United States of America under equal conditions.

ARTICLE XV

On the Quantities Which the State Will Receive Free

(a) The Company must give the State free of charge every year from the year in which there falls due payment of one of the annual sums detailed in clause 3 of Article IX the following quantities of the following products:

20,000 tons of crude oil delivered at the well-mouth.

2,000,000 liters of benzine.

250,000 liters of kerosene.

The Company shall deliver the last two kinds on Transjordan soil wherever possible. If the Government or its departments do not use all the 20,000 tons of crude oil mentioned above, the Company shall buy the remainder thereof at the price specified in the last clause of the preceding article. However, delivery of the free quantities mentioned above shall be suspended for each year during which the refinery mentioned in the preceding clause is being built.

(b) The Company shall deliver to the Government gratis for the maintenance of its roads the oil precipitates² that the Company may not be able to sell, export, or use for itself. This shall be done in the places where the Company has these precipitates.

(c) The kinds delivered gratis must be used only by the Government or its departments and for its own consumption.

ARTICLE XVI

On the Utilization of Public Services — Means of Transport

The Company shall have the right to use for its operations all of the public services in the country, even those not specifically mentioned in this agreement, in consideration of payment

of the sums specified in tariffs applied to other industrial enterprises when using those services.

The Company shall have the right to use all of the means of transportation — land, sea, and air — to transport its employees, necessities, and goods. It must be bound by the laws and regulations affecting these instrumentalities.

ARTICLE XVII

On the Rights Granted

The Government grants the Company the right to carry on all operations connected with its business, especially topographic, geological, geophysical, drilling etc. activities, and the right to construct, maintain, and use all the buildings, installations, and works connected with its business, especially:

Dwellings, hospitals, offices, factories, and store houses.

Storage places of water, oil and its derivatives, liquid and gas.

Pumping stations.

Refineries.

Ports and ship loading installations.

Airports.

Railroads and tramways.

Roads, bridges, ferries, air transports.

Dams and canals.

Pipes for water, gas, or oil — suspended, standing on the ground, buried underneath, or submerged.

Power plants and transformers.

Power lines in the air or under the ground.

Telegraph or telephone lines in the air or under the ground.

Radio-telegraphic and radio-telephonic stations, including stations for reception and transmission limited to the activities of the Company.

However, in exercising the rights granted in accordance with this article, the Company must obey all the laws or Government regulations affecting these things.

The Government will give every assistance to the Company through the necessary administrative arrangements to enable it to carry on with full speed the activities set forth in this article.

The Government shall forbid the construc-

² The Arabic word also means "sediments."

tion of buildings and the setting up of tents or other installations prepared for human habitation in regions where the Company may be able to state that its operations will result in danger.

ARTICLE XVIII

On Use of the Pipes and Installations of a Third Party

The Government will not oppose the transportation of the Company's oil by pipes belonging to the Iraq Petroleum Company. In this case transportation will be subject to the same conditions as those under which transportation of the oil of the Iraq Petroleum Company itself takes place. Furthermore, the Government will not oppose the Company's use of the means of communication, transport, and correspondence belonging to the Iraq Petroleum Company and, in general, whatever facilities the Iraq Petroleum Company may place at the disposal of the Company. The Company may transport its oil by pipes belonging to other companies, provided that it secure in advance the Government's consent — that consent which may not be withheld or delayed without good reason.

If before the expiration of the term of this agreement it should happen that the Government, as a result of the termination of concessions previously granted to a third party, has acquired some means of transportation or other facilities that the Company can use, the Government will retain them under the management of the Company pending the drawing up of a lease in which the fees for the use of these means and facilities by the Company shall not be in excess of what they were before.

ARTICLE XIX

On Contractors

The Company shall have the right to engage a third party to perform activities permitted by this agreement, provided that the Company obtain in advance the consent of the Government — that consent which may not be withheld or delayed without good reason — for the employment of contractors who do not have the right to work in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan without their obtaining such consent. In this case this third party shall en-

joy all the rights and privileges guaranteed to the Company by this agreement in so far as these rights and privileges are relevant to their activities.

ARTICLE XX

On the Expropriation and Leasing of Lands

The Company will be able to use the lands needed for its activities or installations under the following conditions:

(1) The Company may lease uncultivated lands belonging to the Government in accordance with laws now in effect in consideration of a nominal rental fee of one gold pence per annum for each hectare.

(2) Cultivated lands belonging to the Government may be leased by the Company for a just rental, the amount of which shall be determined on the basis of the average of the income which the Government would have obtained from the crops of these lands during the three preceding years. This fee will be determined by agreement between the two parties and in the event that an agreement is not reached, it shall be fixed in accordance with the provisions of Article XXXVIII (*Arbitration*).

(3) Lands not belonging to the Government shall be acquired by agreement between the Company and the owners. If an agreement is not reached and the Government considers the acquisition of these lands necessary for the activities of the Company, it will expropriate these at the Company's expense in accordance with the provisions of the laws and regulations that may be in force at the time concerning the expropriation of lands for public purposes.

Lands that are expropriated shall be registered in the name of the Government and leased to the Company in accordance with the provisions of clause 1 of this article for periods of time not to exceed the duration of this agreement.

(4) In all cases where the Company considers that its activities require speedy possession of the lands, the Government shall undertake to authorize the Company to occupy those lands without delay in accordance with the provisions of the laws and regulations referred to in clause 3 above. Any inconvenience

that may result therefrom to the landowners or farmers shall be kept to a minimum.

ARTICLE XXI

On Rights of Passage

(a) The Government shall not require the Company to pay anything whatsoever because of the passage of pipes or telegraph or telephone lines above or below state lands. However, the Company must compensate farmers or other persons who may suffer damages as a result of these installations.

(b) The Government shall forbid ships from anchoring near the submerged pipes of the Company in the rivers and ocean waters belonging to state lands if the Company requests it to do so.

ARTICLE XXII

On Public Works of the Government

The Government shall be permitted at any time whatsoever to carry on public works on the lands occupied by the Company and to build thereon all necessary means of communications, provided:

(1) That inability to carry on these works elsewhere be proved.

(2) That the works be built and maintained thereafter in such a way as not to interfere with the activities of the Company.

(3) That the Government compensate the Company for the losses it may suffer or the injury that may befall its activities as a result of the works of the Government.

ARTICLE XXIII

On Concessions and Rights of the Third Party

The Government shall be permitted at any time whatsoever to grant any person or other company in the zone of the agreement a permit, concessions, or other rights affecting substances other than those specified in Article I of this agreement, provided that at the same time the Government take suitable measures to forestall all danger, damages, or harm to the property or activities of the Company or to its employees or to its works, and provided that it require the possessors of the rights granted to compensate the Company for all damages that it may incur on their account. Similarly, the Government shall compensate the Com-

pany for the damages that may result from the activities carried on by the Government itself.

ARTICLE XXIV

On Different Provisions

The Company shall have the right (with due regard for the regulations and payment of the regular taxes, if there are any) to take the surface soil, wood, clay, gravel, lime, gypsum, stones, and other comparable substances that may be useful to it and that are found in the lands belonging to the Government.

The Company shall also have the right (in consideration of payment of the regular taxes, if there are any), conditional upon obtaining the consent of the Government — that consent which may not be withheld or delayed without good reason — to take, collect, and use the waters belonging to the Government and which are necessary for its activities, provided that no damage be inflicted upon irrigation or existent navigation and that it be done in such fashion as not to deprive thereby the lands, houses, irrigation canals, or mills of sufficient water.

The Company must accord preferential treatment in the use of native products, as far as possible, subject to the same conditions as those under which they would be able to obtain foreign products, particularly with reference to excellence of type, prices, and periods of delivery.

ARTICLE XXV

On Taxes, Duties, and Customs

(1) Except for the financial costs stipulated in Articles IX and X, the Company shall not be subject to any duty or tax of any kind whatsoever, particularly state taxes, customs duties (on imports or exports) and municipal or any other taxes whatsoever on the substances that it may develop (mentioned in Article I) and on its possessions, capital funds, activities, employees and revenues.

(2) It shall be particularly clear that the exemption from the duties and taxes mentioned above shall unrestrictedly apply to:

(a) All the equipment, tools, apparatus, and provisions required for the discovery, extraction, treatment, refining, storing, transportation, export, and sale of the substances

detailed in Article I (*Subject of the Agreement*).

(b) All of the materials and necessities for the construction, regulation, maintenance, operation, and repair of all the installations detailed in Article XVII (*Rights Granted*).

(c) All of the necessary means of transportation for the employees and equipment of the Company, small parts, and materials necessary for their maintenance, operation, and repair.

(d) All of the documents referred to in the Stamp Law and those which the Company may present to the Government and the Public Departments in fulfillment of this agreement.

(3) The Company shall be permitted to claim exemption from taxes on the export of those imported materials, equipment, and goods that were exempted from these taxes.

(4) The Company shall pay customs duties according to the prevailing tariff on materials, equipment, and goods which it may import exempt from duties and which it may sell in Transjordan elsewhere than to its subsidiaries or any other companies mentioned in Article XXXI (a). In such cases there shall be taken into consideration any possibly resultant decrease in the value of the materials, equipment, and goods at the time of sale.

(5) Irrespective of the exemptions mentioned above, the Company shall be subject to:

(a) The municipal taxes on the offices and houses that it may occupy, in conformity with the same rates paid by all accountable persons subject to those taxes.

(b) Taxes on the registration of automobiles, lands, and properties, in conformity with the rates generally prevailing in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

(6) Employees of the Company in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan shall be subject to income tax on the salaries or wages paid by the Company, in conformity with the generally prevailing rates, and to all other taxes paid by the inhabitants of Transjordan.

ARTICLE XXVI

On Employees

Employees of the Company in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan shall, as far as possible, be (selected) from the subjects of

the State except that the directors, engineers, chemists, drillers, workshop foremen, mechanics, and other specialists and office workers may be called in from outside the Kingdom if the Company cannot find within the Kingdom persons with the desired qualifications, provided that the Company do everything in its power, practically and as quickly as possible, to prepare Transjordanians to perform these tasks.

The Company shall pay its employees reasonable compensation for all accidents suffered during work. It must give notification of all injuries and deaths resulting from accidents, as the law requires.

Upon the discovery of oil, as explained in Article XI (a), or in the event that this is not realized,³ as soon as the Company is enabled to export or sell, as explained in Article XI (b), the Company must pay the Government an annual sum of 5,000 English gold pounds that shall be devoted to sending a number of Transjordanian students abroad to complete their studies.

ARTICLE XXVII

On Crossing the Borders

The Government — taking into consideration the special necessities that may call for unimpeded operation — will grant at any time all the necessary facilities for the Company's directors, employees, and materials to cross the borders at suitable points and will view with favor and on a basis of reciprocity all the arrangements suggested by the Company and, where possible, will make agreements for this purpose with the neighboring governments.

All the extra expenses incurred by the Government in facilitating crossing of the borders at suitable points shall be agreed upon in advance by the Government and the Company and they shall be borne by the Company.

ARTICLE XXVIII

On Security

The Government guarantees the protection of all employees of the Company and its properties of any kind whatsoever, and the Company shall have the right in case of urgent need

³ So text reads.

to take special measures for such protection as may seem necessary, with the agreement and co-operation of the Government.

All the additional expenses that the Government may incur as a result of the special security measures taken in behalf of the Company and at its request shall be borne by the Company.

ARTICLE XXIX

On Harbor Fees

The Government shall make every effort necessary to induce harbor and municipal authorities actively to give the Company and its contractors all the facilities to load, unload, and transport shipments of equipment and goods, particularly shipments of the materials mentioned in Article I when imported and exported.

The Company shall be permitted to use in the harbors its launches and other boats to keep in touch with its activities. Furthermore, it may store its shipments in its magazines, storehouses, warehouses, and depots, provided that this be done with regard for existent rights and without interference with the right of the Government to grant new concessions in the harbors.

All of the Company's steamships as well as those hired by it or by the companies associated with or subsidiary to it in accordance with Article XXXI (a) must pay harbor tolls as per a schedule of rates agreed upon by the harbor authorities and the Company authorities. However, under no circumstances shall these tolls exceed those paid by persons not belonging to the Company who use the same harbor.

The Company shall pay the taxes imposed for the use of hoists, wharfage, lighterage, and all harbor fees as per a schedule of rates that the competent authorities may set in agreement with the Company. However, under no circumstances shall these taxes exceed those paid by persons not belonging to the Company who use the harbor.

ARTICLE XXX

On Constructing Harbors and Loading Installations

The Government will grant the Company, so far as there is need, all facilities for the

construction and maintenance of all the harbors or ocean loading installations that are needed for its imports or exports, particularly on steamers specialized in carrying oil [i.e. tankers], at one or more points to be agreed upon by the Government and the Company.

Inside the harbor(s) or loading installations that it may construct in accordance with what has been mentioned, the Company shall be permitted to place (by agreement with the Government) signs for the anchorages and danger spots and illuminated signs and lights on the shore, and to build on the shore sea walls and breakwaters, moles, and submerged loading pipes. In general, it may carry on all dredging work and all the operations of regulation, protection, cleaning, and maintenance that it may deem necessary for the full utilization of this harbor(s) or these ocean loading installations by night and by day.

The construction plans of this harbor(s) or these ocean loading installations shall be submitted to the Government for its approval, and it shall not be permitted to delay or withhold this approval without a reasonable cause.

The Company alone shall control the right to enter or approach this harbor(s) or these ocean loading installations.

The ships that may use the harbor(s) or ocean loading installations of the Company shall not be subject to any tax or toll for this use.

The schedule of rates that the Company may demand for the use of its harbors or ocean loading installations shall, in case of need, be agreed upon by the Government and the Company.

Ships using the harbors or ocean installations of the Company shall be subject to lighthouse tolls.

Competent Government departments shall perform the tasks relevant to customs, quarantine, emigration, and supervision of the police, under conditions to be specified by agreement with the Company.

The Company or the ships that use the ocean installations of the Company shall pay the fees for these and other special services as per a schedule to be agreed upon. These shall be calculated on the basis of the costs of these services.

The Government shall prohibit anchoring near the ocean danger signs, markers placed in the ocean, and small boats, etc. that may be used in connection with the submerged loading pipes.

ARTICLE XXXI

On Subsidiaries and Relinquishment to a Third Party

(a) The Company shall be free to set up one or more subsidiaries under its administration to perform all or some of the operations of this agreement and these companies shall enjoy the same rights as those enjoyed by the Company itself as well as assume the same obligations in proportion to their activities.

(b) The Company shall be permitted at any time to relinquish to companies other than those specified in clause (a) all or part of their rights and obligations resulting from this agreement, provided that it obtain in advance the Government's consent thereto. If relinquishment occurs before obtaining this consent, the Government shall have the right to abrogate this agreement at once. Withholding or delaying this consent shall not be possible without an acceptable reason.

ARTICLE XXXII

On Representation of the Government and Local Shareholding

(a) Commencing with the date of this agreement, the Government shall have the right to designate one member on the board of the Company or the board of its subsidiary or subsidiaries set up to execute the subject of this agreement. This member shall have the same rights and privileges as the other members and he may claim the same salary, provided that there be definitely placed at his disposal a supplementary compensation of 1,000 English gold pounds per annum to cover his various expenses, including travel expenses.

(b) If at any time there should be an issue of shares and they are offered to the public, subscription lists shall be opened in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan at the same time as they are opened abroad. Transjordanians shall have preference to the extent of at least 20 per cent of these issues.

ARTICLE XXXIII

On Indemnities

From all contraventions of this agreement (except contraventions of the provisions of Article IV (*Drilling Obligations*) and Article V (*Obligations to Sell or Export*) and Article XXXI (b) (*Relinquishment to a Third Party*), the sole consequence of which shall be abrogation of this agreement), there shall result indemnities to be determined by agreement between the Government and the Company or by arbitration in accordance with the provisions of Article XXXVIII (*Arbitration*) of this agreement.

ARTICLE XXXIV

On Adjustment of Royalty

Each of the two contracting parties shall have the right at the end of the 20th year from the date of this agreement and at the end of every 10 years thereafter to request an adjustment in the schedule of royalties detailed in Article X.

In such event the changes that took place in the average prices of benzine and fuel oil taken together on the basis of gold during the period of the preceding 20 or 10 years shall be studied.

Study of these changes shall be made by comparing the average prices in gold of these substances F.O.B. Gulf of Mexico (or another place agreed upon by the two parties as being a market more helpful than any other in deducing world prices of these substances) during the first three years and the last three years of the period under consideration.

The expression "the average prices in gold" should be construed as meaning the average of the daily prices in gold taking into consideration the gold value of the currency established on the day the price was set.

No adjustment shall be made unless there is a change of more than 25 per cent in the average gold tariff of benzine and fuel oil taken together.

The schedule of royalties shall be increased or decreased in proportion to the average rise or fall occurring, as mentioned above, in the prices of benzine and fuel oil taken together.

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less than two gold shillings per ton or more than six gold shillings per ton.

ARTICLE XXXV

On Abrogation

At any time after 10 years from the date of this agreement the Company shall have the right to relinquish to the Government all the rights that it possesses in accordance with this agreement, provided that it give written notice of such decision six months in advance. The term of this agreement in all respects shall end on the date specified in this notice without any cost whatsoever to either of the two parties.

If this notice is given before the end of the 25th year of this agreement, the Company shall be permitted to remove all of its installations and materials exempt from all taxes and fees and to dispose of the lands and buildings registered in its name, provided that the Government have the right within six months from the date of receiving the aforementioned notice to purchase the said installations, materials, and properties at a price to be agreed upon; if agreement is impossible, the price shall be estimated in accordance with Article XXXVIII (*Arbitration*) of this agreement, taking into consideration the replacement value of those installations and materials at that time.

If notice of abrogation is received after the end of the 25th year of this agreement, all the materials and installations belonging to the Company shall be returned and whatever cannot be transported together with the non-movable properties shall go to the Government without any compensation.

ARTICLE XXXVI

On Exceptional Circumstances

In the event of an acute necessity of exceptional nature (and the Government alone shall have the deciding say as to that):

(a) The Company shall exert every effort to give the Government all the additional quantities of oil products that it can deliver and that the Government may require in this exceptional interval over and beyond the quantities specified in Article XV (a) and these shall be justly compensated for. The Government will afford the Company every assistance to enable it to increase its deliveries.

(b) The Company shall carry and receive all telegraphic, telephonic, and radio communications whose safe conveyance shall be requested of it by the Government as long as no impairment in the performance of the private activities of the Company is caused by this conveyance and reception.

ARTICLE XXXVII

On Force Majeure

If in the case of *force majeure* there should occur any negligence on the part of the Company in executing the contents of this agreement or fulfilling its conditions, that negligence shall not give the Government any cause for complaint nor shall it be considered as a breach of contract.

Similarly, if in the case of *force majeure* there should occur any negligence on the part of the Government in executing the contents of this agreement or in fulfilling its conditions, that negligence shall not give the Company any cause for complaint nor shall any compensation be claimed other than an extension of the period of time referred to in the following clauses:

If as a result of *force majeure* the Company is delayed in executing some of the contents of this agreement, the period of delay shall be added (together with the time needed to repair the damages that may have been done during this delay, should it be required) to the periods of time specified in this agreement.

It is understood that the period of time specified in Article II of this agreement shall not be liable to any extension whatsoever because of *force majeure* unless the Company shall have completely suspended the development or export of oil for at least 60 consecutive days because of *force majeure* in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, Palestine, or the Mediterranean. In such event, the total time of suspension shall be added to the term of the agreement.

The expression "*force majeure*" is applied in this article to an act of God, war, revolution, insurrection, internal disorders, ocean inundations, exceptional movements of waves, floods, lightning, explosions, fire, earthquakes, strikes, work stoppages, (army) occupation, and all other incidents that the Company cannot ward off or reasonably control.

ARTICLE XXXVIII

On Arbitration

If during or after the term of this agreement there should arise any doubt, disagreement, or dispute between the Government and the Company in regard to the interpretation or execution of this agreement or in regard to any other points therein or connected therewith or in regard to the rights and obligations of one of the two parties, and the two parties are unable to settle the disagreement, consideration of the dispute, as soon as one of the two parties requests it and solely upon this request, shall be turned over to an arbitration board, and no other, to function as follows—each party shall designate one arbitrator to be selected within 30 days from the date of receipt of the written request from the other party and the two arbitrators thus designated shall designate a third arbitrator before commencing arbitration.

If one of the two parties does not designate an arbitrator within the period of time specified above or if the two arbitrators do not agree within 15 days from their appointment in selecting the third arbitrator, it shall then be up to the party who has designated his arbitrator to request the president of the International Court of Justice in The Hague to designate an arbitrator for the negligent party. In this latter case the two arbitrators together shall designate the third arbitrator as circumstances may warrant.

The decision of the two arbitrators, or the decision of the third arbitrator if a disagreement should develop between them, shall not be subject to review.

Arbitration shall take place in a location to be decided upon by both parties; in the event of a disagreement between them, it shall take place in Amman.

ARTICLE XXXIX

On Protection by the Government

(a) Whenever the Government enters into new agreements or grants or confirms permits or agreements or concessions other than this

agreement, it must protect the rights of the Company as defined in this agreement.

(b) In all the circumstances under which it is required by this agreement to answer any request of the Company, the Government must give its answer within a period of time not to exceed 30 days unless there is some special contravening provision. The request made of it shall not be refused without an acceptable reason.

ARTICLE XL

On Composition [of the Text]

This agreement has been drawn up in the Arabic and English languages and both texts have equal validity.

The headings of the various articles of this agreement have been inserted solely in order to facilitate reference and they are not to have any effect on the meaning and interpretation of this agreement.

ARTICLE XLI

*On Exemption**from the Government Stamp Tax*

This agreement is exempt from the Government stamp tax.

ARTICLE XLII

On Signing and Publication

This agreement shall be published in the *Official Gazette* after it is signed.

Composed in two copies in Arabic and two copies in English in Amman, May 10th, 1947.

Signed by the Prime Minister of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, representing the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan

SAMIR AL-RIFA'I

Witnessed by

MUHAMMAD 'ALI RIDA

Signed by Mr. Geoffrey H. Harridge, representing the Petroleum Development (Transjordan) Ltd.

G. H. HARRIDGE

Witnessed by

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BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL

Minorities in the Arab World, by A. H. Hourani. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London: Oxford University Press, 1947. viii+140 pages. 5 maps. \$3.50.

The Arab world today is heir to most of the territories which once constituted the ancient Near East, the home of the world's oldest historic cultures. The same region is also the homeland of the three monotheistic religions that have come down to us, and of innumerable other religious beliefs which failed to maintain themselves in force. Finally, the region has always been a world thoroughfare. As settler and transient mingled and interacted throughout the ages, some of the inherited cultures proved less subject to change than others. The main stream of tradition thus left behind various islands of cultural resistance. The number of these non-conformist bodies kept increasing as time went by. They are today's minorities within the Arab world—ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities in a criss-cross of incredible complexity. Lebanon and Iraq are parade examples of what time can deposit in lands haunted by history and blessed as well as cursed by geography.

The diverse minorities in the Arab world have been the subject of long-time study by a number of the humanistic disciplines. They are also, however, of particular concern to the political scientist because of the practical problems they pose and the use which outside interests constantly endeavor to make of them. A comprehensive survey of the entire question has long been wanting. The little book before us is a brave attempt to supply this need. The result is mixed; the book is neither a pronounced success nor an outright failure.

Hourani of necessity offers statements of opinion as well as of fact. The opinions are not subject to criticism. They can at most be questioned, in which case the burden of reasoning,

if not of proof, will rest with the critic. The author's earnest and fruitful preoccupation with the problems of the region as a whole is plainly in evidence.

When it comes down to concrete facts, however, the issue is less equivocal. One might perhaps side with the author when he exempts from full discussion the problem of Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq and the problem of European Jews in Palestine, on the ground that in each case the problem "is too vast and fundamental to be regarded as simply a minority-problem" (page 3). Yet the question is bound to arise as to when a minority ceases to be a minority.

More serious are the book's other omissions and its demonstrable inaccuracies. Nothing is said, for instance, about the minorities of Southern Arabia, although the Mehris of that area are hardly more obscure than the Chechens, the Shabak, or the Mandaeans, all of whom are cited by Hourani. The Shabak are listed as Kurdish-speaking. No one who knows Kurdish and has talked with the Shabak is likely to agree with this view. The flat statement that the Sunnis of Iraq outnumber the Shiites is debatable to say the least. To credit the Mandaeans with the use of a distinctive language is to indulge in arbitrary philology. It is their alphabet which is distinctive. Their language is a dialect of Aramaic (which, incidentally, is not the western form of Syriac as Hourani puts it), as is true also of the several forms of Syriac. And on what grounds did the author have the Kurds come down from Central Asia by way of the Persian plateau? (page 15). Lastly, to characterize the *Ashkenazi* Jews as Yiddish-speaking and the *Sephardic* Jews as Spanish-speaking pure and simple is to be guilty of gross historical and linguistic errors.

A satisfactory work on the subject is yet to be written. Very likely, the task may prove to be too much for a single author.

E. A. SPEISER
University of Pennsylvania

La Russie Soviétique et la Question d'Orient. La Pousseé Soviétique vers les Mers Chaudes Méditerranée et Golfe Persique, by Raymond Lacoste. Paris: Les Éditions Internationales, 1946. 238 pages. Fr. 280.

This study provides a detailed survey of Russia's relations with Turkey and Iran, and with the adjacent strategic regions. Moving systematically from west to east, M. Lacoste takes up in order the Straits question, the strategic position of Turkey, the problem of the Caucasus, Russia's policy in Central Asia, Azerbaijan, the Kurds, and the Soviet interest in Iranian oil. The author is thoroughly familiar with his materials, and while his interest is primarily in the postwar situation, he gives a full and clear historical introduction to each of the problems which he takes up. One can only regret that M. Lacoste does not give a fuller guide to his sources of information in the footnotes, and that he provides a bibliography of only a dozen titles.

Several main themes run through M. Lacoste's story; of these the most important is his emphasis on the unprecedented strength of Russia's strategic position today. Whereas in World War I, Germany was defeated only after it had first eliminated Russia as a military power, at the end of World War II Russia was in occupation of an important section of Europe. The author notes in particular the return of Stalin to the policy of the tsars in World War I as regards two vital aspects of Middle Eastern strategy: the partition of Iran and the occupation of Istanbul. The consequences of Russia's new expansionist effort as it effects the Middle Eastern sector, and the policies developed by the Western powers to meet this new challenge, form the kernel of M. Lacoste's study.

The author has a good deal to say about the Western reaction to the Soviet demands during the war. He is most critical of the concessions made to Soviet policy by Roosevelt and Churchill. He seems to think that the Russians made these gains by bluffing with the threats of a separate peace in Europe and of continued neutrality in the Far East, but his documentation on this point is very weak. He summarizes with obvious approval, how-

ever, the policy of "firmness and patience" which emerged in 1945-46, and gives a particularly full account of the Russian-Iranian controversy as it developed both in the Security Council and on the spot. It is M. Lacoste's final judgment that, at least as regards the Middle East, 1946 was another 1878 for Russian diplomacy — a dynamic expansionist effort brought to a halt by Western firmness. He is, moreover, confident that the determination shown in Iran will be exhibited again by the Western powers when renewed Soviet pressure is brought to bear on Turkey.

While M. Lacoste has done a good job in describing the techniques employed by Russia in the Middle East, his account is less satisfactory when he discusses Russia's objectives. At the start he refers rather vaguely to a dream of universal empire and to a translation into Marxist terms of the Eastern Orthodox messianism of Dostoevsky and Danilevsky. But he also mentions a desire to revenge the defeat of the Crimean War, an obsession that the Caucasus frontier is menaced, the Russian search for oil, and the urge to dominate the Suez and Gibraltar. There is some truth in all of this, of course, but in a book of this character the author might have been expected to give a more integrated interpretation of Russia's expansionism. Does it in fact have some special Marxist content which gives it a secret source of power, or is it merely the Russian analogue of the strategic and oil imperialism in the Middle East of British, American, and French diplomacy? A clarification of this problem would help to answer the question of what to do about Russia, which is so vigorously posed in M. Lacoste's informative study.

C. E. BLACK
Princeton University

ARAB STATES

Aden to the Hadhramaut: A Journey in South Arabia, by D. van der Meulen. London: John Murray, 1947. 254 pages. 18s.

In 1932, when South Arabia was still a very closed land indeed, Colonel van der Meulen published an interesting book, *Hadhramaut: Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*. His friend and

fellow traveller, Professor von Wissmann, contributed a map which has been the joy and support of all succeeding travellers in the region, and it is excellent news that a second map, which is to take in fresh country to the west of the former route, is already in preparation. For Colonel van der Meulen, together with his former companion, has again visited the southern lands. Carrying out an old plan, he has travelled eastward from Aden through some of the wilder and least-known country of that turbulent Protectorate, until he entered the comparatively peaceful Hadhramaut by the Wadi 'Amd, the remotest and pleasantest of its main valleys. Making his way among old friends in a country now well broken in to cars, he carried out a new exploratory journey northward to the fringe of the Empty Quarter, the scarcely charted sea of red sand; and finally returned by one of the less travelled routes to the metropolis of Mukalla on the coast.

Colonel van der Meulen is a good traveller. He carries with him a lively curiosity, a fund of human sympathy, and a zest which the harassing and sometimes alarming vicissitudes of Arab travel never succeed in quenching. Furthermore, he is not blasé. His exploration is a by-product: he is an eminent civil servant in the Dutch East Indies, and his main object in South Arabia is to visit in their native homes the people who furnish the largest quota of immigrants to the islands where his regular service lies. He travels, therefore, with an interesting slant: a constant comparison of Dutch and British colonial methods, which sometimes leads him a little astray, but on the whole — like a performance of Shakespeare in modern dress — has the advantage of showing familiar objects in a new light. It also causes him to notice and mention the little incidents of every day and hour, which many more experienced travellers are apt to take for granted; this gives color to the scenes as they appear, and communicates the adventure to the reader.

The year of his visit (1939) was the peak of Hadhramaut prosperity, when the peace which followed the advent there of Mr. Harold Ingrams as British Resident Adviser in 1935 had already borne its fruit, and the misery of famine, locusts, and distant wars which

darkened the following years had not yet begun. Colonel van der Meulen pays a generous tribute to the "Ingram's Peace":

What we had witnessed today, the contrast of the Wadi 'Amd of eight years before and of the present, made us envy the man to whom this task had been entrusted. . . . Now we saw in the Wadi 'Amd peasants who had left at home their useless rifles and women and children who walked about care-free and happy on paths that used to be abandoned or who worked on fields that were formerly desolate. Houses that could once not be approached without announcing oneself and asking permission to proceed and that often proved to be full of armed men, mostly sick to death of the whole proceeding, were now empty. A people at liberty was freely extending fields and date groves.

Anyone among the few people who visited the country before 1935 will bear witness to the accuracy of this comment. Security, in Middle Asia, is followed by a green veil of trees and crops that, in a generation, will change the face of the landscape: the irrigation is so scanty and precarious and so dependent on man's labor, that a year or two of local war or revolution will make a desert of the fairest fields. This is what happened in the Hadhramaut, where in various places the laborers used to plod by sunken bullet-proof trenches to their ploughing; and this sort of thing still occurs in some of the less accessible sultanates east of Aden. The deeply scored arid nature of the country makes it impossible to police by land, and Colonel van der Meulen's description and comments on the recently introduced methods of air control are worth reading by all who may be interested in colonial administration.

But the book is chiefly a human document — of lives remote but vivid, of friendly or difficult encounters, of ancient and forgotten lands; and one of its attractions is that its writer is a very likeable man.

FREYA STARK
Asolo, Italy

'Alam al-Jaish wa'l-Bahriya fi Misr athna' al-Qarn al-Tasi' 'Ashar (Leading Figures of the Army and Navy in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century), Volume I, by 'Abd al-

Rahman Zaki. Cairo: Al-Risala Printing Press, 1947. 192 pages, portraits.

This is the first volume of a collection of lives of leaders in the Egyptian fighting services in the nineteenth century. The author is himself an officer of the Egyptian army and the curator of the Egyptian War Museum in Cairo.

He who attempts nineteenth century Egyptian biography is severely handicapped, for in Egypt there are few of the aids which American and European biographers accept as their right. Not all the great soldiers of the viceroy Mohamed Ali could freely read and write; when they could, it was not always in the language of the people, for Arabic was not the native tongue of the Circassians, Kurds, Albanians, and Turks from Rumelia and Anatolia who hacked their way into Egyptian history with their swords. True, Egypt's subtle assimilative power was in process of making them Egyptians, but even up to the time of the national movement of Ahmad Urabi in 1882, the more intransigent of the Ottoman outsiders were still struggling against the irresistible current of the Nile.

A further obstacle, which the author has not always cleared, is chronology. Much of the period of his study came before the compulsory registration of births and deaths, the vital statistics of biographical convention. Where possible, however, the text is accompanied by portraits, most of them reproductions from photographs.

Abd al-Rahman's chief source of information is the personal records preserved in the Royal Egyptian archives. The facts thus extracted are dry bones for the general reader; they fail by themselves to recall the living man. But what he has rescued from these and other sources serves at least to remind a forgetful public that the achievements of the Egyptian fighting forces in the nineteenth century cannot lightly be ignored. There were lazy incompetents in all branches and at all times, and there was often hopeless direction. The army certainly had its dark days when the columns of Arendrup and Ratib were butchered by the Abyssinians in 1875, as a result of bad organization and leadership. But if the

Turkish general staff despised the Egyptian contingent in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, it had been grateful enough for the substantial help which the Egyptian division brought to the Turkish army in the trenches before Sebastopol in 1854. And the smashing victories of Egyptian arms in the Syrian and Anatolian campaigns of Ibrahim Pasha al-Wali, whose centenary Egypt will celebrate in 1948, need no exposition.

Much of the exploration and mapping of the upper Nile Valley and the Red Sea coast was the work of Egyptian officers such as Muhammad Mukhtar Pasha and Muhammad Mahir Pasha, father of the Egyptian statesman. Egyptian military surveyors contributed much to the great map of Africa prepared by the Egyptian general staff in 1877 under the guidance of the American general, Charles P. Stone. Many of the 120 biographies presented in this first volume are of such officers who served in the wars and administration of Syria and the Sudan.

International elements took their part in the development of the Egyptian fighting forces, a circumstance neither new nor exceptional in the history of war. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming volumes will find a place for the record of British and American officers who served in the Khedivial army and navy. The Americans received inadequate treatment in Pierre Crabitès' *Americans in the Egyptian Army*, while the British, except for Kitchene: and a few other top rankers, have no memorial to their name.

RICHARD HILL
Gordon College
Khartoum, Sudan

INDIA

The British in India, by P. J. Griffiths. London: Robert Hale, 1946. 222 pages. 10s. 6d.

The British in India is a very timely attempt by an ex-civil servant to draw up a balance sheet of British enterprise in India from the days of the East India Company to the near-present. Realizing the extent to which the eyes of the world follow Britain's exit from the Indian scene and well aware of the coldness of

the stare at the record of a once-powerful *raj*, the author undertakes to find terms in which to assess the record and to arrive at a relatively impartial estimate. This, obviously, has been a difficult task for one who has devoted the most productive years of his life to Indian administration, but it may be said at once to his credit that few could have performed it with greater fairness of mind or have arrived at a more tolerable set of conclusions.

Mr. Griffiths begins very properly by pointing out that imperialism is not philanthropy and that British rule in India has been characterized by commercialism, pride of power, and the missionary spirit. He thinks that "a nation of pure idealists would probably never grapple successfully with the practical problems of empire, while on the other hand economic materialism alone would not provide the inspiration by which men can overcome danger, discomfort and exile, and build an empire in the process." In seeking to estimate the effects of British enterprise, he resorts to an historical résumé of Indian history to describe the milieu in which the British began their activities in India and to explain the steps by which they came to dominate the entire peninsula, being compelled to work out fundamental policies in the process. He dwells briefly on the significance of the conclusion reached by Indian administrators early in the Victorian era that, even if the British might inevitably have to leave India one day, it would yet be essential to introduce Western institutions, thus perhaps hastening the day of departure. He believes that the time now has come when the Indian people — or peoples — may safely be left to work out their future destiny unshackled by British authority. "In the course of their long association Britain has done well by India," he concludes.

For all that the author tries with evident sincerity to maintain a completely objective attitude in setting forth his views, one cannot avoid feeling that, in the light of his own able discussion of Hindu-Moslem differences, the situation of the minorities, the predicament of the native states, and the intransigence of Gandhi and others, his optimism with regard to the future of India reflects more a pious hope than a serious expectation. As a laborer

for many years in the Indian vineyard, Mr. Griffiths surely must realize how superficial has been British influence upon the great bulk of the Indian peoples: indeed, he makes a point of noting how few British ever have served in India at any given time in any capacity. Problems of population never were seriously taken up by the British administration and probably were only aggravated by the maintenance of law and order and by a general improvement in conditions of health. Consequently, it may well be postulated that, lacking any solution for problems of this nature, the British presently will find to their dismay that they will have left but an ephemeral impress on India, after all. Events which have taken place since this book was written (in 1945-46) already testify that British influence has been synonymous only with British power, and that whatever good was wrought during the years of control has scant assurance of long survival now that the old order has changed.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS
School of Advanced
International Studies

The Reconstruction of India's Foreign Trade,
by B. N. Ganguli. New Delhi: Indian
Council of World Affairs, 1946. 244 pages.
Rs. 6.

Like so many books on India, *The Reconstruction of India's Foreign Trade* has suddenly become out-of-date as a consequence of far-reaching changes that have occurred since its publication in August 1946. But although the author made no attempt to take into consideration the effects of partition upon the trade of India, the book has value to those interested in an analysis of India's trade position up to and including the war period, and to those who would know the reasoning of a well-qualified Indian scholar on future policies. Dr. Ganguli was a member of the Indian delegation to last year's International Trade Conference at Geneva, and as such he has had ample opportunity to exert an influence on Indian trade policy.

The author makes a careful analysis of India's trade in the light of "the theory of unilateral transfer of funds," and concludes

that, though it may not explain the dynamics of India's trade prior to 1929, it does so for the period from 1929 to the beginning of World War II. His historical account makes frequent reference to the breakdown of multilateral trade; this does not, however, prevent his endorsing a policy of multilateral trade for India provided its tariff autonomy is protected. He also approves bulk purchase agreements of a non-discriminatory character.

Although much of this book is devoted to the theoretical aspects of trade policy, the author becomes very practical in his suggestions for "trade regulation." He would create a Board of Imports, a Board of Exports, a Board of Inland Trade, and an Exchange Equalization Fund. This is not such an extreme departure from present methods as it may appear to one not acquainted with the operations of India's present import and export trade controllers, of the Commerce Department in commodity and price control, and of the Reserve Bank in exchange control. It would appear, however, that the controls administered by the proposed boards would lead to a more comprehensive control of trade, perhaps more closely integrated with a planned economy.

The division of India adds an entirely new consideration to the future of India's trade — one which depends upon many decisions which will be made in the next few months. It is to be hoped that a revision of this book will be made when it is known to what extent India and Pakistan will have an integrated economy and trade policy.

D. A. KEARNS-PRESTON
Washington, D. C.

Richer by Asia, by Edmond Taylor, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947. 432 pages. \$3.75.

Edmond Taylor is an American newspaperman who spent some time during the war in India and Southeast Asia as a psychological warfare officer on Lord Mountbatten's staff. At first uninterested in and rather repelled by Indian culture, he soon embarked upon a mental quest for the meaning and "mattering" of the Orient. His official duties brought him

together with some anthropologists, from whom he acquired a few of the concepts of group behavior currently in vogue and a number of psychopathological terms. With this secondhand equipment, Taylor set himself the task of analyzing British-Indian relations, internal Indian politics, the tenets of Hinduism and Buddhism, and the basic values of Western and Eastern cultures.

In default of the more orthodox methods of social research — sifting the work of previous investigators, recording detailed personal observations, collecting statistics — he resorted to the curious expedient of consulting his own mind to determine how he would have reacted to various circumstances and events had he been an Indian. For external sources he relied chiefly on Nehru's *Discovery of India*, and on his own conversations with fellow American and British officers and other members of the Delhi social set. The only "native" with whom he appears to have had any more than casual contact was his servant. The series of inward revelations which constituted his "Asiatic education" grew out of such "adventures" as a visit to a Calcutta brothel; a nightmarish non-stop jeep ride from Delhi to Ceylon during which "in quite large towns we had difficulty in finding anyone who spoke a word of English"; a Sunday afternoon stroll in a jungle park where he was able to watch for a few minutes the behavior of a troop of wild monkeys.

The end product of Taylor's well-intentioned but rather ingenuous mental exercises is a book which raises some important questions but adds nothing to their elucidation. In discussing the controversy over Pakistan, for example, Taylor asks why the idea of a separate state proved so irresistible to Indian Moslems. He answers that Pakistan is a delusion "in the literal psychiatric sense," and that it met with success because "British psychological warfare" had built up among Indian Moslems a "delusive mentality." Again he interprets the "pluralist pantheism of village Hinduism" as a reflection of the Hindu child's feelings toward the older members of the joint family.

Inevitably, there are minor and not so minor errors of fact. The assertion that all Hindus

"except the 40 million devotees of the death goddess Kali" are forbidden to eat meat is simply a variant of a common misconception. The description of Delhi's exquisitely proportioned and excellently preserved Kutub Minar (considered by James Fergusson the most beautiful minaret anywhere in the world) as a "loathsome phallic ruin" is perhaps a matter of taste.

For the general reader *Richer by Asia* can be of value to the extent that it communicates Taylor's spirit of inquiry and stimulates further exploration of the problems he indicates.

ALICE THORNER
Washington, D. C.

There and Then, by Christine Weston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 176 pages. \$2.50.

Readers of the *New Yorker* will remember these short stories, of which all but two originally appeared in that magazine. Mrs. Weston, who was born in India and lived there until her marriage, writes with affection and insight of Indian people and places, and of the foreigners who lived among them. In all of these stories, some of which are created from tales told her and some are recollections of events in her own childhood, the sights, sounds, and smells that characterize the Indian countryside are vividly described.

Particularly appealing are Mrs. Weston's reminiscences, told with childlike simplicity and intuition. Seen through the eyes of a child who finds it easy to accept happenings which would seem bizarre and outlandish to adult minds, the native people and their customs attain a stature and dignity which westerners living in India rarely attributed to the "Indian masses." The poverty and hunger of the Indian peasant are understated in the stories, but are powerfully expressed in the drawings by George de Goutière, the author's brother and companion in many of the incidents chronicled. Their value, however, is not to be found in their realism, but like the stories, in their portrayal of the mystic quality present in the Indian's approach to the simple events of each day.

BARBARA H. HALL
Takoma Park, Md.

IRAN

Introduction to Iran, by Elgin Groseclose. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. 243 pages. Illustrated. \$3.50.

The author, looking back over long years of experience in Iran, has written a book which lives up to its title. Although history and economic problems, past and present, occupy the largest space, *Introduction to Iran* leaves practically no aspect of the country untouched. Shortcomings and superficial judgments are inevitable and may be overlooked in a book which tries to maintain a factual approach. However, it is misleading and does injustice to the subject as well as to the reader when so momentous a phenomenon as Sufism is accorded even less space than the admittedly interesting observations on music, and is, moreover, dealt with as a subdivision of poetry. And the reader must be confused when he reads on page 58 that under the constitution, Islam is the state religion, whereas it is stated on page 217 that during the last twenty-five years "Islam has ceased to be the official religion of the State." It still is official, despite the fact that secular legislation has taken the place of Koranic law in almost all spheres.

Two major statements should not be passed over in silence. In the chapter "Morals and Religion," the author emphasizes corruption and mendacity as the prominent features of the Iranian character. This trenchant judgment is somewhat attenuated by the avowal made later that during his term of office as Treasurer-General in 1943, the author "found everywhere a high sense of patriotic duty and scrupulousness of official conduct." This statement, however, would be more comforting if we did not know that in the last years of Reza Shah's dictatorship, and particularly after his abdication, corruption was spreading widely. As to mendacity, it is certainly true that almost all observers have recognized a frank and indulgent, if half-amused, admission of this vice by the Iranians themselves. The reviewer hopes that he will not be suspected of the same cynicism if he emphasizes that mendacity is the only vice which is neutralized and rendered harmless by common consent and general practice. Moreover, it must be added that men-

dacity is to all appearances more a privilege of the upper classes than a characteristic of the people in general and the tribes. In any case, it would seem that condemnatory judgments of such moment had better not find a place in a book which rightly calls itself an introduction.

The same reservation holds good for the author's views concerning the task of Christianity in Iran, for they result unmistakably from his belief in "the corrupting influence of Islam upon the Iranian national character." His comprehensive accounts of the missionary activities and individual successes makes it apparent that he looks on conversion to Christianity as the requisite for an Iranian renaissance. Whatever be the merit of his conviction, it means a sad outlook for Iran, for the author himself does not conceal a legitimate skepticism with regard to the success in Iran of missionary work as a whole.

These remarks, pointing at what may be called a certain lack of proportion, do not detract from the value of a book which is readable, offers information which is for the most part sound, and will help to stir interest in a part of the world which has come to be and will remain one of our chief concerns.

WILLIAM S. HAAS
Iranian Institute

PALESTINE

The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939, by James Parkes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. xxiv + 259 pages. \$5.00.

In this volume, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, James Parkes describes the main trends in the Jewish question from the Treaty of Berlin, which imposed internationally guaranteed safeguards for Jewish rights on the Kingdom of Rumania, to the outbreak of World War II. Himself a Christian theologian, Dr. Parkes has long been interested in the historical as well as contemporary facets of the Jewish question. His large five-volume series on the history of anti-Semitism has thus far not progressed be-

yond the first two volumes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* and *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, published in 1934 and 1938 respectively, which narrated the story of Judeo-Christian relations from the beginning of Christianity to the fourteenth century. The present volume tackles essentially the same problem from the other end, the author promising a sequel for the period since 1939 as soon as the material is available.

Dr. Parkes admits that he has not dealt here with all aspects of Jewish history in the six decades under review. He has not even discussed all of its political aspects, having omitted nearly all developments, however significant, in the Western Hemisphere, the British Empire, Western Europe (except the Dreyfus affair), and North Africa. He has concentrated principally on the problems of Palestine and on those of the Jews of Rumania, Poland, the U.S.S.R., and Germany, adding a few general chapters on the Jewish question at the Paris Peace Conference of 1918-19 and on "modern antisemitism as a political weapon." One need not agree with his explanation that the inclusion of the wider field "would have involved a work twice the length, and would have contained much material of little practical value to those whose task it will be to rebuild the world after the war," in order to be grateful to him for having marshaled much of the evidence available in Western languages and having surveyed many of the most significant controversial problems with a genuine attempt at impartiality and detachment.

The readers of the *Journal* will be particularly interested in what Dr. Parkes has to say about the development of the Palestine problem, to which he devotes the first 88 pages of his book. He has read extensively, particularly in the official documents, and has tried to analyze the conflicting claims of Arabs, Jews, and British with much friendliness to all parties concerned. It is not surprising, however, if a British writer issuing a book in the tense atmosphere of 1946 attempts here and there an apologia for the inconsistencies and other grave shortcomings of British administration in Palestine and of governmental policies in London. He echoes the explanation given by the Royal Commission in July 1937 that "the present

difficulties of the problem in Palestine were all inherent in it from the beginning. Time has not altered, it has only strengthened them."¹ Since the Mandate was but temporary in nature, he also explains, the government could not hope to instill gradually those loyalties to the Crown which have often proved successful in overcoming other bi-national problems in the Empire. Nor was there any linguistic or cultural unity which could strengthen the centripetal forces. "In Palestine there were two *imperias* profoundly influenced, if not controlled by two different *imperias*, supposed to be governed by an administration which in turn was subordinate to two masters, one of whom had authority without contact with the country [the Colonial Office], and the other of whom had the power of legal or moral condemnation without any executive responsibility [the League of Nations]" (page 24).

Occasionally this British point of view breaks through in such unconscious linguistic lapses as when the author speaks about the promises to the Jewish people having "compelled us to refuse to undertake the 'integral fulfillment' of the . . . McMahon promises" (page 66). On the whole, however, Dr. Parkes is looking forward to some radically new approaches to the whole Jewish problem as well as to that of Palestine alone. "I do not believe," he declares in the concluding paragraph, "it [the resulting conflict of interests] can be settled by a balancing of legal rights and promises. A new standard of judgment is required — and that not in this question only. If the twentieth century is to become the century of the common man, I suggest that the new basis is the practical basis of need" (pages 233-4).

A far more serious limitation of this book is the fact that, planned at the beginning of the war, it was largely completed by 1942. The years immediately following witnessed the greatest tragedy in the long history of the Jewish people, and the dynamic evolution of Palestine ever since has made many a study almost obsolete even during the normally brief interval between writing and publication. This shortcoming is also evident in the author's bibliographical references. Occasional British

publications of 1943 and 1944 are listed, but major American, continental, and Palestinian materials, for some unexplained reason, seem not to have been accessible to him. To mention only a few examples: while discussing the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Dr. Parkes lists Henri Rollin's *L'Apocalypse de notre Temps*, which appeared in Paris in 1939, but adds, "I learned of the existence of this important book too late to make use of it in the text." Dr. John S. Curtiss' truly searching *Appraisal of the Protocols of Zion* (New York, 1942) is not mentioned at all; Abraham Revusky's *Jews in Palestine*, which since 1935 has appeared in several editions in this country, is known to Dr. Parkes only from a French translation published in Paris in 1936.

Despite all these limitations, in part the result of Britain's war shortages, this well-written summary presenting the balanced judgment of a genuine expert fills an important lacuna in historical and political literature. It is to be recommended to all serious students of the complex problem, who will also eagerly await Dr. Parkes' further studies of the periods before 1878 and after 1939.

SALO W. BARON
Columbia University

Palestine through the Fog of Propaganda, by M. F. Abcarius. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1946. 240 pages. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Abcarius has contributed another to the gradually lengthening but still slender list of works in English which present the Arab viewpoint with regard to Palestinian events of the past thirty years. His book, however, is not likely to have great success in bringing that viewpoint before the British public, for whom it was primarily intended. Sir Edward Spears, in his foreword, thinks it necessary to suggest that allowance should be made for an author not writing in his own tongue, and the text which follows this thinly-veiled warning does not give him the lie. The reading is sometimes heavy going, and evidences of careless proof reading, which in one instance (page 222) has permitted a complete change in meaning of a sentence through the omission

¹ Cmd. 5479, p. 62.

of a negative, do not make the task any easier.

The book recites in considerable detail the now familiar story of the devious secret diplomacy of World War I as it affected the Arab lands, takes up the activities of the Military Administration in Palestine between 1917 and 1920, deals with the Civil Administration under Sir Herbert Samuel and the inception of the strongly pro-Zionist and, as Mr. Abcarius argues, unjust and illegal Mandate, and then devotes a long section (Chapter V) to "The Mandate in Operation" from 1923 to 1946. The treatment in this chapter becomes topical rather than chronological, with public security, public works, immigration, health services, and local government receiving the major attention. There follow three brief chapters on land policy, agriculture, and industry, which form in effect a continuation of the chapter on "The Mandate in Operation." Chapters IX and X are, in contrast, attempts to assess and in a large measure refute the specific Zionist claims that the Jewish community contributes more than its proper share to the revenues of Palestine and that Jewish immigration has resulted in increased prosperity for the Palestine Arabs. In conclusion the book returns to a generally chronological method in dealing with events between the Peel Commission's recommendation for partition in 1937 and the departure of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry from the country in 1946. Particularly interesting are the references to American pressure on Great Britain during the London Conferences in 1939, and to abortive British negotiations with the Arabs in Iraq in mid-1940 for immediate implementation of the constitutional provisions of the 1939 White Paper.

The author makes no pretense of impartiality. His work, he early announces, is a presentation of the Arab "case." Though the tone is generally calm, facts favorable to the Arab contentions are emphasized; those favorable to the Jews are sometimes omitted or minimized. The Zionist objective is referred to as "the hideous nightmare of a Jewish State." Arabs who sell land to the Jews are denounced as "traitors." This partisan stand, like that of the propagandists of Zionism, can be recognized and so discounted. The author's good

judgment and scholarly accuracy may be questioned when the reader is told quite seriously that "information in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is surely beyond suspicion" (page 15), and that the Peel Commission's studied evaluation of the Jewish contribution to Palestine's economy is merely a summary of "Jewish claims" (page 36).

Palestine through the Fog of Propaganda is worthy of attention from the student of Palestine affairs as an exposition of the Arab view and possibly as an antidote to extreme Zionist propaganda. It will not, however, take its place beside Antonius' *The Arab Awakening* on grounds either of readability or of accuracy. The title may very properly be interpreted in a sense quite different from that which its author intended.

PAUL L. HANNA
University of Florida

'Arvei Erets Israel (The Arabs of Palestine), by Jacob Shimoni. Tel Aviv: 'Am Oved Press, 1947. 476 pages.

The swelling stream of apologetic and polemical literature on the Palestine problem becomes understandable against the background of the ever-widening range of pressures by the interested parties. At the same time the scholar wishing to probe dispassionately any aspect of that multi-faceted question finds his task thankless and almost impossible. For these reasons Jacob Shimoni's *The Arabs of Palestine* is invaluable. For the first time in any language a book has been written on this intricate and often elusive subject in a manner that is for the most part detached and free of error. The achievement is all the more remarkable when it is realized that the author, a Jew who migrated from Nazi Germany to Palestine in the mid-1930's, has succeeded in acquiring in a relatively brief period an amazing grasp not of the details alone but of the broader trends of Arab life in Palestine as they relate to the Arab East as a whole.

Shimoni defines his purpose as that of describing and analyzing "the present-day social and political life of the Arabs in Palestine, their communities, organizations, and institu-

tions." Recognizing the great difficulty of attaining perspective when dealing with current issues, the author nevertheless declares that he has spared no effort in rendering the account as objective as possible. Yet the text has not been cluttered with footnotes; instead, an extensive topical bibliography has been appended to the volume. Shimoni warns his readers against judging the Arabs on Occidental standards, because such concepts as party, election, family, or labor movement have different meanings among Arabs from those prevailing in the West. This spirit of understanding pervades the entire book, and its logical, well-conceived structure enables even the most inexperienced reader to find his own way through the labyrinth of Arab institutional life.

A brief description of Islam and its sects precedes the examination of the Palestine variant, which in turn is followed by a description of the numerous local Christian Arab denominations. Within this religious framework the picture of Arab socio-economic life in desert, village, and town comes into sharp focus, and the role of the clan in Arab politics becomes more comprehensible. The chapter on the clans is of particular value, since it contains succinct sketches of the influential families and their most prominent members in each of the rural as well as urban areas, information which hitherto has not been easily available.

Shimoni traces the development of the Arab national movement in Palestine against the background of the rise of Arab nationalism generally. The three chapters devoted to these topics are the weakest, for the author has tried to compress his story to the barest minimum. The mechanical enumeration of causes and effects has made his style resemble more that of an outline than of an exposition. Furthermore, he has failed sufficiently to account for the unstable, shifting character of Arab political parties and their rivalry. Despite its inadequacies, however, the brief historical summary of the Arab national movement does contain most of the pertinent descriptive if not analytical data, and is followed by a delineation of the manifold nationalist organizations and institutions. Though betraying a Zionist labor bias, Shimoni's analysis of the trade-union

movement in this section is incisive, original, and well rounded, as is that of the Arab press in the chapter on education and culture. The book concludes with an appraisal of demographic, economic, and social trends.

All in all, *'Arvei Erets Israel* is an indispensable reference work, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be translated into English so as to bring it to the wide audience it merits in the English-speaking countries.

J. C. HUREWITZ
Nassau, New York

TURKEY

Turkey: Old and New, by Selma Ekrem. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 186 pages. \$2.75.

Evidently Miss Ekrem inherits from her famous grandfather, Namik Kemal, his love of Turkey and his literary talent, for in this book she has displayed both. The new Turkey is emphasized far more than the old; this is perhaps justified in such a presentation, as it is apparent that the author has written for the average intelligent reader who desires information on present-day Turkey. She has used a style which maintains interest throughout but at the same time has spared the superlative so that the picture is not distorted.

In describing the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the author relates the usual story of the Turkish horsemen appearing on the battle scene just in time to decide the issue, and receiving a district of Asia Minor as a reward. The historical basis of this incident is questionable but in this case legend may be more significant than fact since most Turks believe the incident to be true. Miss Ekrem misses many excellent points in the development of the Turkish nation by failing to describe the superlative education, the philosophy, the ethical codes, and the gentlemanly way of life which evolved during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Turkey. Much in the way of honor and dignity present in Turkish civilization today stems from the codes deeply impressed upon society at that time.

In attempting to portray the change from the old to the new Turkey, one familiar with the revolution of the last twenty-five years is always so embarrassed by the wealth of illustrations that he finds it difficult to indicate the proper degree of contrast. It would seem, however, that Miss Ekrem has not overdrawn the picture to any extent. Her chapters on education, land reforms, and the changed status of women are especially noteworthy. It is particularly pleasing to have included a chapter on Turkish legends and Nasreddin Hodja, a "bearded man with a gigantic turban and spectacles, whose anecdotes brought laughter to millions of people." Sometimes it is easier to understand a different civilization and its people if one can read or hear the stories told and loved by the common people. And the *lokum's* of Hadji Bekir for Sheker Bayram! Miss Ekrem must have a real sweet tooth, for her description of that famous candymaker of Istanbul and his establishment is enough to make the mouth water.

The final chapter is a summary of Turkish diplomacy and domestic politics since the outbreak of World War II. It relates the story as it has generally come to be told. Whether or not this will stand the test of future historical investigation is another matter. In this connection, the author omits such unpleasant incidents as the *varlık vergisi*, or capital levy tax of 1942, which was so unfairly levied that notice of it was kept out of the American press for months. Little mention is made of the serious inflation which developed during the war years and the difficulties which this has created for wage-earners, and no indication is evidenced that many responsible Turks are today questioning the efficiency of state owned and operated industries or the wisdom of retaining the system of state capitalism.

Miss Ekrem has given, nevertheless, a fine delineation of modern Turkey and anyone desirous of understanding that country, its people, and its problems should find this book entertaining and rewarding. Its reading will give one an insight into what the Turkish Government is trying to do for the land and the Turkish people. In this respect the many excellent photographs throughout the book make a convincing contribution to the valid

impression that Turkey in the last twenty-five years has evolved beyond all normal expectations.

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER
The Ohio State University

Life in Modern Turkey, by E. W. F. Tomlin.
New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946.
90 pages. 5s.

Life in Modern Turkey is a short handbook of information on present-day Turkey, written in a popular, informal style. The author adopts a sympathetic approach to Turkish problems, omitting most controversial issues and concentrating on the achievements of the new Turkey. He offers a short history of the Turks, a description of the geographical and climatic features of Turkey, and a brief account of life in Turkish towns and rural areas. There is also a summary of social problems and customs, religious and national holidays, and a section on the kinds of food which are popular in the land. Minority problems are mentioned only in passing. The group of peasants known as *Yürük* as well as those known as *Tahtaci* are also discussed briefly. The author comments on the now banned dervish orders of the Mevlevi, Rufai, and Bektashi, and touches on the work of the *Halkevi* (People's Houses) and the Village Institutes. There is also an account of the role played by the Republican People's Party in the political life of the country, but the development of the multi-party system in Turkey since 1945 is inadequately treated.

The simple pictorial map would have been more useful if the location of some of the primary mineral resources, such as chrome and copper, had not been omitted. The short chronology of events from 1919 to 1938 would have been of greater value if it had been brought up to date. The bibliography, also, is inadequate. There are, however, useful notes on the Turkish language for non-Turkish speaking persons, and a glossary of Turkish words and phrases. Despite its shortcomings, the book contains much information which travelers and visitors to Turkey will find useful.

KERIM K. KEY
Department of State

BOOKS ALSO NOTED

General

Books on Asia, compiled by Asian Relations Conference (I. H. Baqai). New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1947. 111 pages.

La Civilisation du Desert, by Robert Montagne. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1947. 267 pages, with bibliography. Fr. 210. (To be reviewed).

Escapes Chez les Pêcheurs de Perles: Arabie, Zanzibar, Maldives, Ceylon. Lausanne: Payot, 1946. 253 pages.

From the Land of Sheba: Tales of the Jews of Yemen, collected and edited by S. D. Goitein. New York: Schocken Books, 1947. 123 pages. \$1.50. A collection of the folklore and legends of the Jews of Yemen.

The Life of Gibran Khalil Gibran and His Procession, by G. Kheirallah. New York: The Arab-American Press, 1947. 45 pages. A biography of the famous Arab writer and scholar, together with selected translations from his early Arabic opus. Illustrations by Gibran.

Maya Explorer: John Lloyd Stephens and the Lost Cities of Central America and Yucatan, by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. 324 pages. \$5.00. Stephens' experience at Petra and in Egypt prepared him for his later discoveries in Central America, where he was able to refute the speculation that the Maya civilization stemmed from the Egyptians or the "Lost Tribes of Israel."

Mer Rouge, by Gaétan Fouquet. Paris: J. Suisse, 1946. 196 pages. [Collection "Voyages et Aventures."] Account of a Red Sea voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of climbing Mount Sinai. Illustrated with four maps and 50 photographs taken by the author.

Operation Victory, by Major General Sir Francis De Guingand. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947. 488 pages. 25s. An authoritative account, by Field Marshal Montgomery's chief of staff from 1942 to 1945, of the decisive World War II campaigns in Africa and Europe, with a description of the tactical battles of the Middle East campaign.

Pages from the Kitab al-Luma of Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, by A. J. Arberry. London: Luzac & Co., 1947. 39 pages in English; 16 pages in

Arabic. 6s. 6d. Fills in the gaps in the edition of R. A. Nicholson. Contains as well a biographical note on Nicholson and a bibliography of his works.

Secrets of the Heart, by Kahlil Gibran. Edited by Martin L. Wolf. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947. 339 pages. \$4.75. Collection of Gibran's poems and meditations, published for the first time in English.

Stalin en el Oriente Medio, by Gregor Agabekow. Madrid: Nos, 1946. 317 pages. Pesetas 20. Memoirs of a onetime head of the Near Eastern section of the G.P.U.

Storia e civiltà musulmana, by Francesco Gabrieli. Naples: R. Ricciardi Editore, 1947. 305 pages. 400 lire. A collection of 24 specimens of Moslem writing published during the last 20 years. Among the subjects dealt with are Arab agriculture in Spain and Sicily, Arabic poetry in Occidental literatures, political and social evolution of Moslem Spain, and Christianity and Islam in the modern age.

Vosstanie Kara Yazidzhi—Deli Khasana o Turtsii, by A. Tveritinov. Moscow and Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946. 87 pages. 6 rubles. [Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya, t. 38.] An account of one of the more noteworthy revolts against Ottoman rule led by Anatolian chieftains during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Based on original Turkish sources.

Az-Zarnuji, Ta'lim al-Muta'allim—Tariq at-Ta'allum (Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning), tr., with an introduction, by G. E. Von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. 78 pages. \$2.00. The first English translation of a work on education by a Moslem scholar who lived in the Near East toward the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

Arab States

Al-ahd al-watani fi thalath sanawat (Three Years of National Independence). Damascus: 1947. 272 pages, illustrated. Prepared by the Syrian Government and edited by the Ministry of Public Works. Surveys education, irrigation, public works, hygiene developments since 1943-4.

Egyptian Trade Index, 1947, edited by E.

- Sawaf. London: Probsthain, 1947. 773 pages. 50s.
- Fakhriddine II Maan, Prince du Liban (1572-1635)*, by Michel Chebli. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1946. 193 pages. Published under the direction of l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth. A new biography of the 17th century prince.
- Historiens Arabes*, pages choisies, traduites et présentées par J. Sauvaget. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1946. 192 pages. Annotated French translations of excerpts from 24 Arab historians and writers, arranged chronologically from al-Giahiz to Ibn Iyas; valuable glossary.
- Ynan fi ahid al-istiqlal (Lebanon Since Independence)*. Beirut: 1947. 143 pages, illustrated. Prepared by the Lebanese Government on the occasion of the Arab Cultural Congress of 1947. Surveys the progress achieved during the four years of independence; interesting statistics on agriculture, education, health, and public works.
- Nizam al-Hukum fi al-Iraq (Governmental Organization of Iraq)*, by Majid Khadduri. Baghdad: 1947. 200 pages. 180 fils. (To be reviewed).
- The Sand Kings of Oman*, by Raymond O'Shea. London: Methuen, 1947. 209 pages. Experiences of an R.A.F. officer in the little known regions of Trucial Oman. *
- Le Soudan Egyptien, 1821-98*, by M. Sabry. Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale, 1947. 214 pages.
- Al-tabiyyat al-wataniyya (The Nature of Nationality)*, by G. Shahla and Shafiq Geha. Beirut: Rarrukh, 1946. 314 pages. L12. A description of the government of Lebanon.
- India*
- Brown Empire*, by Erskine Wyse. London: Background Books [143 Cannon St., E. C. 4], 1946. 125 pages. 8s. 6d. On the basis of data he collected in India, the author gives evidence for his belief that transfer of power cannot be effected peacefully.
- A Concise History of the Indian People*, by H. G. Rawlinson. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1946. xiv + 429 pages. 7s. 6d. Originally published in 1938, this third edition includes information up to 1945.
- Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*, by Azim Husain. London: Longmans, Green, 1946. xvi + 388 pages. 22s. 6d. A son's biography of the successes and failures of an ardent promoter of Moslem interests in India.
- Gandhi and Stalin: Two Signs at the World's Crossroads*, by Louis Fischer. New York: Harpers: 1947. 183 pages. \$2.50. Emphasizes the choice facing the Western world between progressive democracy (as personified in Gandhi) and defeatist dictatorship (characterized by Stalin).
- Houseboy in India*, by Twan Yang. New York: John Day, 1947. 213 pages. \$3.00. A human interest account of a servant's view of a variety of employers.
- India: A Synthesis of Cultures*, by Kewal Motwani. Bombay: Thacker and Company, 1947. xx + 319 pages. Rs. 7/14. The author views the present problem of India as a disintegration of traditional culture through outside influence. This can be averted only by "national planning" in the form of a synthesis of the merging cultures.
- The Indian War of Independence of 1857*, by Vinazak Damodar Sararkar. Bombay: Phoenix Publications, 1947. 552 pages.
- India's Armies and Their Costs*, by Lanka Sundaram. Bombay: Avanti Prakashan, 1946. 256 pages. Rs. 7/8. A historical treatment of India's armies beginning with the military policy of the East India Company and following the subsequent changes up to World War I, with which the author deals in detail. He describes the interwar period and the expansion of personnel and costs during World War II.
- India's Post-war Reconstruction and its International Aspects*, by P. S. Lokanathan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946. viii + 71 pages. 5s. 6d. Published for the Indian Council of World Affairs.
- Industrial Capital in India, 1938-39*, by M. V. Divatia and H. M. Trivedi. Bombay: N. M. Tripathi, 1947. 91 pages. \$2.50. The first study to be made of capital employed in manufacturing industries in India.
- Land and Motherland*, by Dr. G. T. Wrench. London: Faber and Faber, 1947. 147 pages. 7s. 6d. The author analyzes Indian and English character and the psychological difficulties hindering mutual understanding.
- Location of Industries in India*, by Tulsi Ram Sharma. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946. xiv + 257 pages. Rs. 7/8. A summary of the factors

which determined the location of India's large industries in the past and which are now altering that location.

Nalanda Year-Book and Who's Who in India: An Indian and International Annual of Current Statistics, Events, and Personalities, 1946-47, ed. by Tarapada Das Gupta. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1947. 148.

Natural Resources of India, by Atol K. Sur. Bombay: Padma Publications Ltd., 1947. 155 pages. Rs. 5.

The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, by G. N. Dhawan. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1946. xvi+354 pages. Rs. 8/8. Lectures.

Pressure of Population and Economic Efficiency in India, by Dwarkanath Ghosh. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1946. 109 pages.

Reserve Bank of India Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1945-46. Bombay: Reserve Bank of India, 1946. 176 pages. Rs. 3/8.

State Management and Control of Railways in India, by L. A. Natesan. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946. 496 pages. Rs. 12. Comprehensive survey of the history of Indian Railway finance, rates, and policy from 1920-37. Based largely on annual reports of the Indian Railway Board.

Iran

Iran: An Economic Study, by Raj Narain Gupta. New Delhi: The Indian Institute of International Affairs, 1947. 169 pages. Rs. 5/8.

Vieille Perse et Jeune Iran, by Jerome Tharaud. Paris: Plon, 1947. 244 pages.

North Africa

El Africa Francesa en Crisis, by Abd-el-Mizan. Barcelona: Montaner y Simon, 1946. 157 pages. An Arab writer seeks to present an objective account of the opening phases of the North African campaign, some of which he observed personally, together with certain general considerations of French policy in North Africa.

Le Bou-Mergoud: Folklore tunisien; Croyances et Coutumes Populaires de Sfax et de sa région, by Marie-Louise Dubouloz-Laffin. Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1946. 316 pages. 350 francs. Based on a five-year sojourn in Sfax from 1929 to 1934.

Caravanes: D'Alger au Niger par le Hoggar, by Frédéric de Nussy. Paris: J. Susse, 1946. 190 pages. *Roman descriptif* in diary form of a journey taken in 1944 and 1945. Illustrated by the author's own photographs, drawings, and map.

L'Enigme d'Alger: La Bissectrice de la Guerre, 8 November 1942, by René Richard et Alain de Sérigny. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1947. 290 pages. (To be reviewed.)

Trois Grands Africains: dans l'intimité de Lyautey, Laperrine, Foucauld, by Guy Dervil. Paris: J. Susse, 1946. 232 pages. The author's personal reminiscences of the three outstanding figures in the history of French North Africa.

Palestine

If I Forget Thee, by Meyer Levin. New York: Viking Press, 1947. 143 pages. \$3.50. A picture story, illustrated with 200 photographs, of the novel *My Father's House*. Photographs taken from film of the same name.

Labor Enterprise in Palestine, by Gerhard Muenzer. New York: Sharon Books, 1947. 83 pages, bibliography. \$1.50. A comprehensive handbook of Histradut economic institutions, explaining the interrelations between the various bodies. Charts and diagrams.

My Father's House, by Meyer Levin. New York: Viking Press, 1947. 192 pages. \$2.50. A novel concerning the search of a young refugee from Europe for some trace of his family in Palestine.

Palestine and the United Nations: Prelude to Solution, by Jacob Robinson. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1947. 269 pages. \$2.75 (paper), \$3.25 (cloth). Part I describes the UN background of the Palestine problem; parts II to V discuss developments within the special session.

Turkey

Fairy Tales from Turkey, translated from the Turkish by Margery Kent. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1946. viii+189 pages. 6s. A collection of Turkish folklore, recorded verbatim from aged people living near Istanbul.

Linguistics

Arabic-Hebrew Dictionary of the Modern Arabic Language, by Dr. David Neustadt and Pessah Schusser, with the assistance of Dr. M. Brill. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1947. 432 pages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Near East Section, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Nabia Abbott, Elizabeth Bacon, G. L. Della Vida, John Dorosh, Richard Ettinghausen, Carl Ginsburg, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, Cecil Hobbs, Herbert J. Liebesny, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, William I. Preston, C. Rabin, and Benjamin Schwartz.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East roughly since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of excellent bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Moslem Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and India. The ancient Near East, Byzantium, Zionism and Palestine¹ are excluded; in the case of India; only material dealing with history and the social sciences since 1600 will normally be considered.² An attempt will be made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields, with the exception of those published in the languages of India.

¹ Palestine, Zionism, the Jews of Palestine, etc. are omitted only because of the existence of a current, cumulative bibliography devoted to this field, i.e. *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

² Art and archaeology, language and literature, etc. are well covered by the following: Kern Institute. *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* (Leiden); George M. Moraes. *Bibliography of Indological studies 1942-*, (Bombay), Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For list of abbreviations, see page 127.

GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 1120 "Geological survey of India." *Indian Engineering* 71 (My '47) 209-10. Description of the first geological map of India (in preparation for 95 years); subsequent maps to be issued.
- 1121 "Summer resorts of the Arab world." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* (Cairo) 1 (Je '47) 46-50. Brief résumé, with some statistics, of summer resorts in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, the Hijaz, Iraq, and Morocco.
- 1122 ABDULLAEV, KH. M. "Uzbekistan—the

new mining industrial region." (in Russian) *Nauka i Zhizn'* (Moscow) No. 6 ('47) 25-9. Historical, geographical, and geological description with illustrations. Production of petroleum is growing so rapidly in this region that by 1950 Uzbekistan, it is predicted, will become the fourth largest oil producing center of the USSR.

- 1123 ALTOUNYAN, MAJOR T. "The land of the Mahra." *J. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 231-41. Very interesting account of a trip through Mahra, a hitherto unexplored region of southern Arabia.
- 1124 CAILLE, JACQUES. "Un botaniste français dans le sud marocain en 1867." *Rev. de Géog. Marocaine* (Rabat) 30/4 ('46).

- The botanist, Balansa, holds a distinguished place among the scientific explorers of Morocco. This article traces his trip from Mogador to Marrakesh in 1867.
- 1125 FEILBERG, C. G. "La tente noire." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (O '47) 674. Summary of the geographical aspects of the study.
- 1126 GALITSKIĪ, V. V. "Karatan." (in Russian) (*Nauka i Zhizn'* (Moscow) No. 5 ('47) 27-31. Historical, geographical, and geological description with reproduction of map of 1697 and illustrations. In 1874 Russian geologists considered this region of little value, but the finding in recent years of rich mineral deposits have belied this opinion.
- 1127 GENDRE, F. "Voyageurs et géographes — pionniers oubliés ou méconnus de la France au Maroc à la veille du Protectorat (concl)." *Rev. de Géog. Marocaine* (Rabat) 30/4 ('46) 152-73. De Segonzac, Louis Gentil, Paul Lemoine, Abel Brives, Edmond Doutté made vital contributions to our knowledge of Morocco through their explorations during the early years of this century.
- 1128 GIGOUT, MARCEL. "Essai géologique sur les Doukkala." *Rev. de Géog. Marocaine* 30/4 ('46) 125-39. The plain of the Doukkala is an important granary of Morocco.
- 1129 ISMĀ'IL, KAMĀL. "The capital of the Arab East — what will it be like tomorrow?" (in Arabic) *Al-Hilal* (Cairo) 55 (Je '47) 65-71. A discussion of the city plan of Cairo, with mention of mistakes made in the past and suggestions for improvements in the future. Illustrated.
- 1130 KHAN, MUHAMMAD A. R. "Muslim contribution to meteoric astronomy." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 353-61. Includes a list of meteors observed.
- 1131 PENDLETON, ROBERT L. "International Conference on the soils of the Mediterranean." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (O '47) 676-8. Account of the conference which took place in May 1947, partly in France, partly in French North Africa.
- 1132 STENTZ, DR. EDWARD. "The climate of Afghanistan: its aridity, dryness and divisions." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (O '47) 672. Summary.
- 1133 TOLSTOV, S. P. "The archaeological and ethnographical expedition of the USSR Academy of Sciences to Khwarazm in 1946." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR Ser. ist. i fil.* 4/2 ('47) 177-82. The objects unearthed are regarded as among the most ancient ever discovered on the territory of Soviet Central Asia. Toprak-Kala was the site of the most important excavations. Evidence was discovered pointing to active relationship between Khwarazm and the land of the Khazars.
- 1134 VOLGIN, V. P. "A trip to India." (in Russian) *Vestnik Akad. Nauk SSSR* 17/5 ('47) 46-69. A detailed account of a trip to India made in January 1947 by the delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences to attend the congress of scientists. The author, who headed the Soviet delegation, found a good deal of interest in the USSR on the part of the intellectual classes of India, but also what he calls "misunderstanding," even of such documents as the Stalin constitution.
- 1135 YUSUF, S. M. "Alahwar Lōhkot and Lahāwur." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 51-5. Identification of names in Balādhuri.
- Book Reviews: 1389, 1397, 1399, 1402, 1408, 1413, 1419, 1442, 1448.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

(Ancient, medieval, modern)

- 1136 "Communal violence at its worst: massacres in a divided Punjab." *Illust. London News* 121 (S 6 '47) 264-5. A series of photographs of the massacres in the Punjab.
- 1137 "India — division of the Indian empire." *Round Table* No. 148 (S '47) 370-7. A review of events since June 3, with some emphasis on the problems of several minorities and a brief discussion of the food question.
- 1138 "Indian states in two minds." *Gt. Britain and the East* 63 (Ag '47) I 39-40. Some of the considerations facing Hyderabad and Travancore as they ponder the choice of affiliating with Pakistan or India, or of remaining independent.
- 1139 "Oil on the Middle East chessboard." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) ME 42-3. Britain's lead in Middle Eastern affairs does not meet with as much disapproval as Zionist propaganda might suggest. This applies both to oil and, presumably, to the handling of the Egyptian situation, also treated in this article.
- 1140 "Palestine and the Middle East — an introduction to the problem." *Nation* 165 (O 4 '47) 353-4. "Persons unacquainted with the Middle East are likely to apply to the area political concepts to which they are accustomed at home." This short article corrects some of the prevailing misconceptions.
- 1141 "IV. Revindication of the principle of legal equality of states, 1871-1914." *Polit. Science Quart.* 62 (Je '47) 258-86. Details of the Conference of Algiciras, 1906, are given on p.275ff.

- 1142 "Valediction to India—the last phase of the British Raj." *Round Table* No. 148 (S '47) 330-8. India is a rich field for constitutional experiment, particularly in regard to protection of rights of minorities, the development of means to achieve collaboration for specific common purposes not federalized in the ordinary way (e.g., railroads between Pakistan and India). The author does not deplore the passing of English rule, since only the Indians can effectively enforce agrarian reform, uproot or modify ancient social customs and religious usages, and defeat the forces of communism.
- 1143 "Victims of communal hatred in India: Muslim refugees at Delhi." *Illustr. London News* 121 (O 4 '47) 367-9. Series of photographs of massacres at Delhi and some of the four million refugees in the Punjab.
- 1144 AHMAD, QAZI MUKHTAR. "Was Bairam Khān a rebel?" *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 56-72.
- 1145 AKDAĞ, MUSTAFA. "The dissolution of the Janissary organization." (in Turkish) *Ankara Univ. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (My-Je '47) 291-309. The breakdown of the Janissary system is seen as resulting from the admission to Janissary status of large numbers of Turkish mercenaries, ca. 1559, during the contest for power of Selim and Beyazid. The monetary inflation that rendered the Janissaries' living allowance insufficient is also cited as a reason. With German summary, pp. 310-13.
- 1146 ALSOP, JOSEPH and STEWART. "Red Star over the Middle East." *Sat. Eve. Post* 220 (S 20 '47) 25ff. This article, like most of the writings of its authors, is long on adjectives, luridness, and imagination, but short on facts. The paragraphs on Daniel Solod, Soviet Minister to Lebanon and alleged master of the spy and propaganda network, reveal nothing new. They recommend implementation and prompt execution of the Bevin "People not Pasha" memorandum as the only means of thwarting Soviet plans for the Middle East.
- 1147 ALTRINCHAM, LORD. "Les problèmes du Moyen-Orient." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (Jl '47) 261-74. Supports the thesis that Britain's security depends on the stabilization of the Middle East, to be effected by raising the intellectual, social and economic levels of the peoples as proclaimed by the leaders of the Arab League. Advocates, naturally, the closest Anglo-French "human collaboration."
- 1148 AMERY, L. S. "The prospect in India to-day." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) I 41-2. The former Secretary for India takes a very rosy view of the situation.
- 1149 ATIYAH, E. "Prospects of the Arab renaissance." *Quart. Rev.* (London) No. 573 (Jl '47) 471-83. History; prospects for westernization.
- 1150 BACON, ELIZABETH. "Soviet policy in Turkestan." *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 386-400. Sets forth the Soviet Union's success with its nationality policy in Turkestan, and its implications for the Middle East.
- 1151 BAGCHI, P. C. "Cultural relations between China and India." *Perspective* (Delhi) 2 (Ja '47) 10-13. The dissemination of Indian culture to China from the 1st to the 10th centuries.
- 1152 BARTON, SIR W. "Dark days in India." *Quart. Rev.* (London) No. 573 (Jl '47) 366-76. Difficulties of independence settlement.
- 1153 BLYTHE, E. M. E. "The Samaritans." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 256-62. A sketch of the history of this ancient people, said to number now less than 100. A brief bibliography is appended.
- 1154 BROWN, W. NORMAN. "India's Pakistan issue." *Proceedings of the Amer. Philosophical Soc.* 91 (Ap '47) 162-80. A masterful account of the history of the Hindu-Moslem controversy down through 1946. The political, cultural, social and historical cleavages and assimilations are objectively discussed.
- 1155 "BURAQ" (Pseud). "How Prince Ibrāhīm left the Yemen." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Jl '47) 19-20. An account of Prince Ibrāhīm's attachment to the Greater Yemen Society ("Free Yemini") in Aden in opposition to the Imam's rule.
- 1156 CAHMAN, WERNER, J. "The Jews of North Africa." *Jewish Frontier* (New York) 14 (Jl '47) 16-18. There is a strong possibility that reprisals will be taken against the 550,000 Jews living in North Africa should there be an anti-Arab solution in Palestine. No matter what happens, the plight of the Jews there will remain critical.
- 1157 CASTELLANO, VITTORIO. "Le origini della colonia Eritrea e i tentativi di colonizzazione agricola." *Africa* (Rome) 2 (Jl 15 '47) 123-4. The first of a series of articles.
- 1158 CENSONI, DOMENICO. "La diversa risoluzione dei mantari internazionali nei territori del vicino oriente." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 81-6. Principally a review of the steps by which Syria and Lebanon gained their independence.

- 1159 CHAD, CARLOS. "Lendemain d'elections au Liban." *En Terre d'Islam* 3/39 (3e trim. '47) 211-6. A critical estimate of the upshot of the parliamentary elections of May and June 1947.
- 1160 CHARLES, H. "Les nomades de Syro-Mesopotamie et leur islamisation." *En Terre d'Islam* 3/39 (3e trim. '47) 171-89. Points out that in this period of Islamic conquest, religious aspects received far less attention than during the previous conquest of Mecca and central Arabia.
- 1161 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "Deux années d'histoire de l'Égypte (Oct. 8, 1944-Dec. 9, 1946 . . .)." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (My '47) 201-24. A detailed and documented account of the political events of these two years, with a particularly valuable section on the labor movement and the methods used to combat it. The steady decline of the Wafd in public esteem is well analyzed.
- 1162 COVERLEY, L. J. "The Egyptian undergraduate and politics." *J. of Education* (London) 79 (Je '47) 334-6.
- 1163 DAS, TARAKNATH. "India—past, present and future." *Polit. Science Quart.* (New York) 62 (Je '47) 295-304. Discusses a number of things, including Nehru's *Discovery of India* and the Chatham House report, *British Security*.
- 1164 DEIGHTON, H. S. "Les relations Anglo-Égyptiennes." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (Mr '47) 23-50. The central fact in recent Egyptian history is the rivalry between the palace and the Wafd party, which is interestingly related in this article. Some light is thrown on the still somewhat obscure developments in Egypt between 1939 and 1944. The author is not too optimistic about England's future in the Middle East.
- 1165 DYAKOV, A. "The new British plan for India." *New Times* (Moscow) No. 24 (Je 13 '47) 12-15. The political dismemberment of India will create new obstacles to her full liberation and will fail to bring about the economic, social and cultural reform necessary to ensure India's progress.
- 1166 FALLS, CYRIL. "Aftermath of war: the future of the Gurkha troops." *Illust. London News* 121 (Ag 23 '47) 206. Outlines tentative plans for the future disposition of the Gurkha troops from Nepal, who formerly served as mercenary soldiers in the Indian army.
- 1167 AL-FĀSĪ, 'ALLĀL. "France's dilemma in the Arab west." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Jl '47) 4-5. France's policy in North Africa is a defense reaction against Soviet communism and the American drive for the liberation of small peoples and the improvement of their standard of living. The author is a prominent leader in the Moroccan nationalist movement.
- 1168 FERRO, MAURICE. "Egypt's bid for power." *Nation* 165 (O 4 '47) 362-4. A review of recent history. King Farouk does not want England's complete withdrawal from the Middle East because of his fear of communism. He looks upon the Arab League primarily as a tool to serve Egypt's objectives—rapid political and social evolution and union with the Sudan.
- 1169 GHALLAB, 'ABD AL-KARĪM. "The nationalist campaign in Morocco." (in Arabic) *Al-Risālah* (Cairo) 620-2. A brief review of the Moroccan nationalist movement, beginning with the revolt of Mulay 'Abd al-Hafiz in 1907 and ending with the activities of the present-day *Ḥizb al-Istiqlāl*.
- 1170 GIANNINI, AMEDEO. "La società degli stati arabi." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 73-80. A detailed and able examination of the Pact. The mere fact that it could have been concluded has vital political significance. The League's future is still obscure.
- 1171 GÖKBİLGİN, M. TAYYIB. "The Lebanon question and the Druzes from 1840 to 1861." (in Turkish) *Belâten* 10 (O '46) 641-703. A study based on official sources.
- 1172 HAINES, C. GROVE. "The problem of the Italian colonies." *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 417-31. Traces the diplomatic jockeying over the disposition of the Italian colonies from the Sept. 1945 foreign ministers' conference in London to the Soviet Union's naming of its representative to the Deputies' commission on Sept. 30, 1947.
- 1173 HALIFAX, EARL OF. "India: two hundred years." *Foreign Affairs* 26 (O '47) 104-15. The former viceroy stresses the benefits that accrued to India from her membership in the Commonwealth and from the introduction of the English language.
- 1174 AL-ḤAŞRĪ, SĀṬĪ. "The French expedition and the Egyptian renaissance." (in Arabic) *Al-Thaqāfah* (Cairo) 9 (Ag 5 '47) 8-12. Argues that the French influence on Egyptian culture did not begin with the Napoleonic expedition, but much later.
- 1175 AL-ḤAŞRĪ, SĀṬĪ. "The French expedition and the Egyptian renaissance—part 4." (in Arabic) *Al-Thaqāfah* (Cairo) 9 (Ag 12 '47) 7-10. The final article in a

- series designed to show that the idea of any connection between Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and the Egyptian renaissance under Muhammad 'Ali is the product of the imagination of French writers and has no foundation in fact.
- 1176 IBRĀHĪM, SAYF AL-ISLĀM (Prince of the Yemen). "Fighting Yemen." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Jl '47) 18. An interview with Prince Ibrahim of the Yemen, giving his program for the Greater Yemen Society (more commonly known as the "Free Yemenis"), of which he is head.
- 1177 IOANNISIAN, A. R. "Russian diplomacy and the Armenian question in the 80's of the eighteenth century." (in Russian) *Voprosy Ist.* 6 ('47) 94-105. The author traces the efforts of Russian diplomacy from 1781 to 1785 to settle the Persian question as a part of the settlement of the whole Eastern problem. In the process it was planned by Russia to establish an Armenian state which, together with an "independent" Georgia, would serve as a buffer against Turkey. France made diplomatic efforts to counteract the Russian moves. In 1785 a change in the political set-up in the Caucasus forced the project to be shelved.
- 1178 JAMES, SIR FREDERICK. "India: the transfer and after." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 193-202. A series of detailed predictions of things to come, the most interesting being (1) many of the scheduled castes will be tempted to improve their social and economic status by becoming Moslems; (2) communal conflict will gradually diminish, but communism will gain in power.
- 1179 KHAKE, G. H. "An interesting 'Adilshahi Farman.'" *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 47-51.
- 1180 KHĀN, YŪSUF HUSAIN. "The status of the Subedars and Diwans of the Deccan in the time of Shāh Jehān." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 384-90.
- 1181 KNOTT, BRIG. A. J. "The modern Sudan." *Quart. Rev.* (London) 573 (Jl '47) 409-23. An account of the progress made under the condominium.
- 1182 LAL, K. S. "Cultural activity during the reign of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316)." *J. of Indian Hist.* 25 (Ap '47) 39-64. The synthesis of Indo-Islamic culture—architecture, painting, music, and literature.
- 1183 LASKI, HAROLD J. "Power politics spells war." *Nation* 165 (O 4 '47) 355-8. Urges that the entire Middle East, including Persia, be organized by the UN into related systems modeled on the TVA. The oil concession would be transferred to the several commissions appointed to govern the Persian Authority, Jordan Valley Authority, Euphrates Valley Authority, etc.
- 1184 LIEBESNY, H. J. "French North Africa: empire in transition." *Amer. Perspective* (Washington) 1 (O '47) 259-85. An evaluation of the significance of France's reform efforts in terms of the pre-existent government structure. The well-considered conclusion is that only a very modest beginning has been made and that ultimate success is still in doubt.
- 1185 LOCKHART, LAURENCE. "Outline of the history of Kuwait." *J. of the Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 262-74. Very useful outline of the history of this Persian Gulf kingdom from earliest times to the present. Map.
- 1186 LOMBARD, MAURICE. "Or, argent, et cuivre dans l'Égypte du Moyen Âge." *Annales* (Paris) 2 (Ap-Je '47) 239-49. Reviews an important article by Michael de Vövard, "Sur l'évolution monétaire de l'Égypte médiévale", *L'Égypte Contemp.*, 30 ('39) 427-59.
- 1187 LOMBARD, MAURICE. "L'or musulman du VII^e au XI^e siècle." *Annales* (Paris) 2 (Ap-Je '47) 143-60. Islam's world economic supremacy from the 7th to the 11th centuries was due to its possession of gold and the universally recognized value of its money. This important and original study undertakes to examine the historical role played by this gold.
- 1188 MARSAC, GUY. "Abd el-Krim." *En Terre d'Islam* 3/39 (3e trim. '47) 217-27. A brief review of Abd el-Krim's career, followed by a more detailed discussion of his arrival in Egypt in May 1947, and its bearing on the current situation in North Africa.
- 1189 MONTAGNE, ROBERT. "Abd el-Krim." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (Jl '47) 301-24. A detailed study of the "Berber Vercingetorix," the events in which he was a central figure, and the implications of his return to the contemporary scene. Abd el-Krim is a symbol for the Moslem masses of the rising and threatening tide of imperialist Pan-Islamism. An exciting and important article, with many original observations.
- 1190 MONTAGNE, ROBERT. "La politique de la Grande-Bretagne dans les 'pays arabes'." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 11 (N '46) 489-514. Montagne brilliantly analyzes the British plan for Near East stability, as detailed in the Chatham House report "British Security", concluding that

- it is contradictory and the difficulties in the way of fulfillment insurmountable. Particularly interesting is his explanation of the significant influence exerted on the formation of British policy by such "technicians of local political action" as Freya Stark, Glubb, etc.
- 1191 MURTY, P. N. "Constitutional developments in India." *Perspective* (Delhi) 2 (Ja '47) 1-9. An objective analysis of the cabinet mission's proposals of 1946.
- 1192 MURUWWAH, AHMAD FU'AD and LUTFI SHILLISH. "Youth organizations in Palestine and Lebanon." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Ap 10 '47) 14-15. Contains useful information principally on the Najjādah and the Phalanges Libanaises of Lebanon and on the friction between the Futuwwah and the Najjādah of Palestine.
- 1193 MUSLIM, KHĀLID. "The Kuwait municipality." (in Arabic) *Al-Ba'thah* (Cairo) 1 (S '47) 30-1. A brief account of the history and program of the municipality of the city of Kuwait.
- 1194 NOBIRON, LOUIS. "Notes on the Arab calendar before Islam." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ap '47) 135-53. Translation of Caussin de Perceval's "Mémoire sur le calendrier arabe avant l'Islamisme", in *J. Asiatique*, 1843.
- 1195 PETRUSHEVSKY, I. "The question of the forcible attachment of the peasants to the land in Iran in the period of Mongolian domination." (in Russian) *Voprosy Ist.* 4 ('47) 59-70. The author presents evidence derived from original sources to show that under Mongolian rule Iranian peasants in the Middle Ages were compelled to stay on the land, enjoying no freedom of movement whatsoever.
- 1196 H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE. "Post-war developments in Afghanistan." *J. of the Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 275-86. Excellent survey of recent history and of present conditions by an author who had unusual opportunities for observation.
- 1197 RANGACHARYA, V. "The play of imperialism in Kannada history and some of its cultural effects." *J. of Indian History* 25 (Ap '47) 9-32. A spirited account of dynasties and ruler from the Kadambas to the Hoysalas.
- 1198 REDFERN, SHULDHAM. "The Sudan problem." *New Eng. Rev.* (London) 15 (S '47) 262-6. Recommends that the Sudan be set free under a system of a federation of provinces each with considerable local autonomy.
- 1199 RIF'AT, MUHAMMAD. "Egypt and the Sudan." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Misrī* (Cairo) 6 (Je '47) 22-36. An argument for Egyptian sovereignty over and possession of the Sudan, based on Egyptian contributions toward the exploration and defense of that country and on the cultural and historical links uniting the Nile Valley.
- 1200 RIF'AT, MUHAMMAD. "Turkey hesitates between East and West." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Misrī* (Cairo) 5 (My '47) 629-40. A clear exposition of Turkey's attempts to balance her relations with Europe and the states of the Near East. The recent Turkish treaties with Transjordan and Iraq are viewed as an extension of the Sa'dabad policy.
- 1201 ROOSEVELT, KERMIT. "Egypt's inferiority complex." *Harper's* (O '47) 357-64. Interprets Egypt's approach to political questions on the basis of a feeling of inferiority in its dealings with other nations.
- 1202 ROSENTHAL, FRANZ. "The 'Muslim Brethren' [al-Ikhwan al-Muslimūn] in Egypt." *Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 278-91. This important organization was said (by themselves) to number 500,000 "sympathizers" in Egypt in 1945. One of their publications, *Da'watunā* (Our Propaganda Aims) is here given a detailed summary.
- 1203 SABAHUDDIN, S. "Conduct of strategy and tactics of war during the Muslim rule in India." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 345-52; 21 (Ja '47) 7-15; 21 (Ap '47) 123-34.
- 1204 SAGGI, P. D. "The future of Indo-British relations." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 219-29. A free India will be a close ally of Britain. There remains only the task of overcoming much prejudice in both countries.
- 1205 SEREZHIN, K. "United States policy in the Middle East." *New Times* (Moscow) No. 24 (Je 13 '47) 15-18. American capital—oil, aviation, etc.—in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Palestine, and Turkey is steadily expanding. In order to protect the investment, the government is led to support the most reactionary regimes.
- 1206 SHAMSI, MAS'UD HASAN. "Ulāyya, a less-known 'Abbasid princess." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad). 21 (Ap '47) 111-3.
- 1207 SHWADRAN, BENJAMIN. "Egypt challenges Great Britain." *Pal. Aff.* (N.Y.) 2 (O '47) 97-102. Miscalculation on both sides led to bringing Egypt's case before the Security Council. A summary of the various arguments and resolutions is interestingly presented. In order to avoid aggravating the international situation, the Security Council members refused to consider the substantive elements of the case;

- even on procedural matters there was no agreement.
- 1208 STONE, I. F. "What price Arab oil?" *Nation* 165 (O 4 '47) 358-60. The United States does not face an oil famine even in the remote future. Accordingly, Arab oil is not a life and death matter and the Palestine problem can be solved without reference to it.
- 1209 TAGHER, JACQUES. "Le rayonnement de la France en Égypte." *Rev. du Caire* 10 (Jl '47) 471-92. The influence of France and the French language has been very great in Egypt, not the least of the reasons being that most of the activities were not performed by French government officials.
- 1210 TAMASKAR, B. G. "Shivaji and the Europeans." *J. of Indian Hist.* 25 (Ap '47) 84-120. Original documents with terse comments.
- 1211 TELLER, J. L. "Inside Arab politics." *Nation* 165 (O 4 '47) 364-5. The Mufti's opponents are growing stronger and, regardless of the decisions of the UN, violent civil war is destined to break out between the two factions. These opponents are being supported by Transjordan, but the Mufti is precluded by his ambition to revive the caliphate from gaining Ibn Saud's support.
- 1212 UZUNÇARŞILI, İ. HAKKI. "Some documents relating to the deposition and death of Sultan Abdul Hamid." (in Turkish) *Belleten* 10 (O '46) 705-48. A documented study accompanied by original documents in photographic reproduction.
- 1213 VERNIER, BERNARD. "Le statut du Fezzan." *Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (My '47) 189-200. The frontiers of this North African territory as defined by various international treaties, including the Italian peace treaty of February 10, 1947.
- 1214 WILSON, VIVIAN. "First attempt at Asian unity." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) 1 43. The delegates of the Arab states gave the impression that they did not consider themselves Asians.
- 1215 YÜNUS, 'ABD AL-HAMİD. "The united Arab states." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabî* (Cairo) 1 (Je 10 '47) 24-6. A call for a union of Arab states as a logical corollary to the growth of such unions as the British dominions, the USA, and Switzerland.
- See also: 1133, 1134, 1135, 1238, 1244, 1269, 1281, 1289, 1290, 1310, 1381. Book Reviews: 1388, 1396, 1398, 1400, 1403, 1405, 1406, 1411, 1414, 1415, 1418, 1420, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1449, 1450.
- ### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
- (General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)
- 1216 "The Central Pay Commission's report." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 22 '47) 863-4. The relations of government service pay scales to the calibre of personnel. The adverse economic effect of pay raises.
- 1217 "Economics of the new India." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) 1 42-3. Economic co-operation is vital to the success of partition. The food resources of Pakistan must be harmonized with the industrial resources of India. With a map of the main resources of both countries.
- 1218 "For the information of importers and exporters—control regulations of the government of India." *The Indian Exporter* 1 (Ap '47) 33-9. The most recent controls; list of articles, etc. and the regulations governing them.
- 1219 "Government and the coal industry (need for a co-ordinated capital)." 118 (My 1 '47) 715-6. The war expansion of India's industries and its relation to the need for efficient expansion of coal mining. The industrial responsibility of the central government is demonstrated.
- 1220 "Indian banking in 1946." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 29 '47) 7-11. Deposits, investments and controls during and since the war.
- 1221 "The Indian national trade union congress." *Harijan* (Ahmedabad, India) 11 (My 18 '47) 157-8. The reasons for establishing this organization as opposed to the communist dominated all-India Trade Union Congress.
- 1222 "Indian shipping." *J. of the Indian Merchant's Chamber* 40 (Jl '47) 313-20. Effect of British "stranglehold" and future possibilities.
- 1223 "Indian trade delegation to Turkey." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) ME 39-40. Turkey and India have had only slight contact in the past. The recent visit of an Indian trade delegation may lead to exchange of mutually desired goods, some of which are here specified.
- 1224 "Indian trade unionism at the crossroads." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 22 '47) 864. A discussion of the policies of the "communist dominated" all-India Trade Union Congress and the Indian National Trade Union Congress of the Congress party.
- 1225 "India's contiguous markets." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 29 '47) 912. Trade prospects with Afghanistan and Tibet.
- 1226 "The jute industry in its first post-war year."

- Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 29 '47) 15-18. The rise in the price of jute; labor troubles and shortage of coal; the U.S. market.
- 1227 "Persian oil—a Soviet bone of contention in the Middle East." *Illust. London News* 121 (S 27 '47) 347. A map of the Near East showing oil concessions and pipe lines.
- 1228 "Railways in Pakistan and Indian union." *Indian Railway Gazette* 60 (Jl '47) 170-1. The division of the Indian railways as required by the partition of the country.
- 1229 "Review of primary products." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 29 '47) 61-4. The decline in cotton and sugar production, and the steadiness of the oilseed market.
- 1230 "Turkey's industrial banks." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) ME 46-7. The great state industrial banks of Turkey—the Eti, the Sumer, the Ziraat, and the İq—were originally instituted for the development of the industry. The activities of the Eti bank are discussed in some detail.
- 1231 "La vita economica dell' Eritrea." *Affrica* (Rome) 2 (Ap '47). Some statistics bearing on the financial status of Eritrea.
- 1232 'AZMI, MAHMŪD. "The report of the account control office." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 5 (My '47) 623-28. Extracts from the 1945-46 report of the Egyptian accounts control office containing sharp criticisms of the tax accounting methods of certain Egyptian government agencies, with special reference to allegedly illegal exemptions granted Allied military forces during the late war.
- 1233 BROWNELL, GEORGE A. "American aviation in the Middle East." *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 401-16. Reviews the development of civil air agreements between the U. S. and the Arab states and India, with comments on local air policies.
- 1234 CHAKRAVARTHI, B. "Maulavi 'Abdul-Qādir's report on Nepal." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 362-6. A report mainly on economic matters of the year 1795.
- 1235 COREA, G. C. S. "Ceylon—its trade prospects." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 254-6. A brief summary of Ceylon's export products and import needs, with the conclusion that the prospects for trade with the island are good.
- 1236 DAVYDOV, E. M. "Georgian Socialistic Republic." (in Russian) *Nauka i Zhizn'* (Moscow) No. 1 ('47) 32-6. A brief survey of the economic development that transformed Georgia from a mere colonial region into one of the flourishing republics of the USSR. Contains illustrations and a map of natural resources.
- 1237 GANDHI, N. P. "The mineral resources of the central provinces." *Indian Market* 9 (My 3, 10, 17 '47) 11-13. Manganese and iron deposits; need for development.
- 1238 GASKILL, GORDON. "Our partner in oil." *Amer. Mag.* 144 (O '47) 34ff. A correspondent reports on his interview with King Ibn Saud, and on the Arabian American Oil Co.'s activities in Saudi Arabia.
- 1239 GHOSH, HARICHARAN. "The rationale of salt tax in India." *Indian J. of Econ.* 27 (Ap '47) 493-501. The meaning of the salt tax in Indian economy; its unjustified position; an appeal for its repeal, as subsequently enacted.
- 1240 GHOSH, A. K. "Sugar cane and the sugar industry in India." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Ap '47) 466-78. An excellent account of the history, development and modern condition of the industry.
- 1241 AL-HAMD, YA'QŪB. "Business firms (in Kuwait)." (in Arabic) *Al-Ba'thah* (Cairo) 1 (S '47) 40. Brief notes on seven business firms, nearly all of them in the nature of public utilities, constituting the most important cultural undertakings in Kuwait.
- 1242 HUSAYYIN, SULAYMĀN. "The bond of water in the Valley of the Nile." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 6 (Je '47) 51-62. An Egyptian view of the common importance of the Nile waters to Egypt and the Sudan. Attacks alleged British failure to exploit these waters for the benefit of the Sudanese and suggests that Egypt could do better if the Sudan were under her control.
- 1243 KHATAU, DHARAMSEY M. "Plight of the textile industry." *Indian Market* 9 (My 24-31 '47) 5-7. Decline in production, labor troubles, the market.
- 1244 KRENKOW, F. "The annual fairs of the pagan Arabs." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ap '47) 111-3.
- 1245 LEDUC, GASTON. "L'évolution économique du Moyen-Orient." *Politique Étrangère* (Paris) 12 (Jl '47) 284-300. Agriculture is the economic basis of the Arab world. This study treats the ways in which it was affected by the war and the new problems, chiefly financial, arising in the Middle East after the cessation of hostilities, liquidation of the war, oil, and industrialization. Leduc, who was for two of the war years president of the "Commission supérieure du ravitaillement" for the Levant states, foresees a modest industrial expansion, limited to local possibilities. Extensive outside assistance will depend on political developments.

- 1246 NANDA, SHRI GULZANILAL. "The why of it." *Harijan* (Ahmedabad, India) 11 (My 18 '47) 158-60. A continuation of "The Indian National Trade Union Congress" in the same issue.
- 1247 NATESAN, L. A. "Division of India's railways." *Indian Railway Gazette* 60 (Jl '47) 171-3-6. The physical division; financial problems involved.
- 1248 PAPINI, ITALO. "L'interdipendenza economica tra Italia, Eritrea, Somalia e Libia e l'amministrazione fiduciaria." *Africa* (Rome) 2 (Jl 15 '47) 117-9. Close economic relationships always existed between Italy and her Italian colonies. The mother country was the principal supplier of both raw materials and finished goods and also purchased most of their products.
- 1249 RIFAT, MUHAMMAD 'ALI. "The Egyptian pound in its new era." (in Arabic) *Al-Thaqāfah* (Cairo) 9 (Ag 12 '47) 4-6. Believes that Egypt's international monetary position cannot be stabilized until she devalues her pound.
- 1250 SAGREIYA, I. F. S. "Coddung economy vis-à-vis charcoal industry." *Indian Forester* (Dehra Dun) 73 (My '45) 198-205. Stresses the need for coddung as fertilizer and the weaning of the population away from its use as fuel. Legal and economic aspects of the use of charcoal and the necessary reforestation.
- 1251 SA'ID, 'ABD AL-MUGHNĪ. "Corporations in Egypt." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi*, 1 (Ap 10 '47) 20-2. Useful statistical information, particularly regarding the number of Egyptians and foreigners serving as executives, officials, and workers in the 347 corporations registered in Egypt as of June 1945.
- 1252 SA'ID, 'ABD AL-MUGHNĪ. "The development of industry in Egypt is not in the direction of providing abundance." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* (Cairo) 1 (Je '47) 36-7. A criticism of the lack of planning in Egyptian industry that has resulted in concentrating on the production of high-priced tariff-protected consumer goods. Under this system profits are high, but the failure of employers to raise wage levels prevents the increase of purchasing power and the expansion of the home market.
- 1253 SEN, SUDHIR. "Water planning in India." *Capital* (Calcutta) 118 (My 29 '47) 23-26-64. The Damodar project in Bihar; the need for far-reaching water power development patterned on developments in the U.S.
- 1254 SLAUGHTER, E. W. "Road and rail services in Hyderabad state." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) I 44-5. Mr. Slaughter was at one time the managing director of the Nizam's railway board.
- 1255 THORNBURG, MAX. "Turkey: aid for what?" *Fortune* 36 (O '47) 106-7ff. A critical analysis of Turkey's economy and the country's failure to exploit properly her human resources. Some suggestions on how American technical skills and investments can be most effectively used.
- 1256 "USAMAH" (pseud). "Our agrarian problems." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* (Cairo) 1 (Je 10 '47) 16-18. A slanted, but informative, description of the depressed condition of the Iraqi peasant.
- 1257 WATSON, SIR ALFRED. "India in the new era." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) I 3-6. "There will be a real expansion of trade with the United Kingdom."
- 1258 WILSON, VIVIAN. "Egypt and sterling balances." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) ME 43. Egypt should make the generous gesture of offering to liquidate or reduce these balances.

See also: 1157, 1187, 1208. Book Reviews: 1386, 1416, 1422, 1430, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 1259 "Basic education." *The Social Science Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (Ap '47) 114-9. The seven years' work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Wardha, which is the Gandhi plan of education.
- 1260 "The courts of Kuwait." (in Arabic) *Al-Ba'thah* (Cairo) 1 (S '47) 29. A short résumé of the constitution and functions of Kuwait's three courts: the General court, the Shari'ah court, and the Commercial court.
- 1261 "Education through art." *Marg* (Bombay) 1/3 ('47) 17-22. Teaching children through drawing, modelling or craft work. The value of the article is in the illustrations of what Indian school children are doing.
- 1262 "Educational problems in the Egyptian countryside." (in Arabic) *Maj. al-Tarbiyah al-Hadithah* (Cairo) 20 (Ap '47) 227-37. Suggests that the solution to the problem of overcoming rural stagnation and antipathy to village schools lies in the establishment of model schools whose curricula would cater to the problems of the local fellahin.
- 1263 "India's chief princely native state to be independent." *Illust. London News* 121 (S 6 '47) 270-1. A series of photographs

- from Hyderabad. Especially interesting are those of new housing projects to replace slums.
- 1264 "The Kuwait house in Cairo." (in Arabic) *Al-Ba'thah* (Cairo) 1 (S '47) 18-19. This house was founded in Cairo in 1945 as a residence for Kuwaiti students. The relation of this house to the general educational program of Kuwait is discussed.
- 1265 "The wedding night." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* 1 (My 10 '47) 46-7. Account of wedding ceremonies and celebrations in an Egyptian village.
- 1266 'ABD AL-NUR, JABBÜR. "Indications of paganism in the epistles of the Ikhwān al-Safā'." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 6 (Je '47) 116-31. A discussion, illustrated with examples, of the oriental paganism and Greek philosophical ideas in these epistles, with special reference to the neo-pagan school of Harran.
- 1267 ADAIR, A. R. "The Kumarbhag Paharias." *Man in India* (Ranchi) 26 (S-D '46) 207-14. Some light thrown on this little-known tribe in Bihar.
- 1268 AGARWAL, AMAR NATH. "Population of India and its future trend." *Indian J. of Economics* 27 (Ap '47) 389-99. An evaluation of existing statistics; condemnation of their accuracy and an appeal for exact statistical methods before planning an attack on the problem.
- 1269 AHMAD, SHUKRĪ MAHMŪD. "The Night of al-Māshūsh and the Night of al-Kafshah." (in Arabic) *Al-Risālah* 15 (S 22 '47) 1040-42. Holds that the Night of al-Māshūsh (called al-Kafshah in Iraq), an orgiastic festival observed by the Carmathians of Bahrain, has its origin among the Christians who, the author believes, continue to observe it. This article is of interest not only from the folkloristic standpoint, but as an illustration of the ideas about Christianity entertained by contemporary educated Moslems.
- 1270 AḤMAD, SHUKRĪ MAHMŪD. "The Shuṭṭār and the 'Ayyārūn." (in Arabic) *Al-Risālah* (Cairo) 15 (S 15 '47) 1008-11. A brief account, with citation of sources, of these two criminal classes which flourished in Iraq under the Abbasid caliphate.
- 1271 AMIN, AḤMAD. "The cultural aims of the Arab League." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* 1 (My 10 '47) 16-17. A statement by the Egyptian representative on the cultural committee of the League.
- 1272 AL-'AMRŪSĪ, FĀYID. "How we corrupt our students' taste." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* 1 (Je '47) 38-9. A criticism of the Arabic literature curriculum in Egyptian secondary schools, which does not approach this subject from a chronological standpoint and which fails to distinguish between literature and the history of literature.
- 1273 ASHKENAZI, TOUVIA. "A ketubah of the Jews of Hadhramawt." *Jewish Quart. Rev.* (New York) New Series 38/1 ('47) 93-6. A marriage contract of the South Arabian Jews.
- 1274 CHAKRAVARTY, P. C. "Climate of Calcutta and human energy." *The Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Je '47) 468-73. An interesting analysis of the climate of Calcutta and its effect on vitality.
- 1275 CHAUDHURI, N. M. "The cult of Vana-Durgā, a tree deity." *J. of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal* 11/2 ('45) 75-84. This aspect of Durgā has wide popularity among Hindu women as a curing deity, a saver and giver of sons. Variations and details are amply explained.
- 1276 CHAUDHURI, ROMA. "Sastric injunctions regarding forcible conversion and abduction." *Modern Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (My '47) 392-6. An analysis of ancient legal material in Sanskrit texts.
- 1277 CROSBY, SIR JOSIAH. "Buddhism in Ceylon." *J. of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Gt. Brit. and Ireland* ('47, parts 1 and 2) 41-52. Brief historical account stressing Hindu influences.
- 1278 CULSHAW, REV. W. J. "The Santals of western Bengal." *Man* 47 (S '47) 124. Summary of a lecture on the Santals, a primitive people found not only in Bengal but in Bihar, Orissa, and Assam.
- 1279 EBAN, A. S. "Some social and cultural problems of the Middle East." *Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 367-75. The welfare of the Arab world requires completion of the westernizing process. This means not only the forms of Western life but its abiding moral and intellectual values.
- 1280 GURNER, SIR WALTER. "Town planning in India." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 209-19. An historical summary of the movement, followed by a comparison of certain features in the Indian system—administration, finance and acquisition—with questions of principle and method currently discussed in Great Britain.
- 1281 AL-ḤAṢRĪ, SATĪ'. "The French expedition and the Egyptian renaissance." (in Arabic) *Al-Thaqāfah* (Cairo) 9 (Jl 29 '47) 779-83. Concludes that Napoleon's expedition contributed nothing to the cultural renaissance of Egypt. Special attention is paid to the history of the Arabic presses existing before the establishment of Napoleon's press in Egypt.
- 1282 HEYTD, URIEL. "Islam in modern Tur-

- key." *J. of the Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 299-308. A discussion of Turkish attitudes toward Islam before World War I, under Kemal Ataturk, and now.
- 1283 IBN THĀBIT, 'ABD AL-KARĪM. "A wedding fête in Morocco." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Je '47) 40-1. A popular but informative description of Arab wedding ceremonies in Morocco.
- 1284 JAYAWARDANA, SITA. "Ceylon initiates free education." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) 1 37-8. In Oct. 1945 Ceylon introduced a plan for free education from kindergarten to college. This article gives a history of the development of education in the island that led to this plan.
- 1285 BĀ KHASHAB, MUHAMMAD ABŪ BAKR. "The Arab colony in Eritrea . . ." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Je '47) 27. The Eritrean Arab colony, which numbers more than 10,000, is centered in Asmara, where it supports a school with an attendance of about 90 pupils. Most of these Arabs are engaged in trade and business.
- 1286 KHOLY, AMIN. "On the diversity of cultures in Egypt and how to remedy this." (in Arabic) *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I Univ. Arabic Section* 9 (My '47) 1-13.
- 1287 KIRK, G. E. "The Oikoumenē: Shi'i and Sunni." *Man* 47 (S '47) 127-8. Correspondence. "I cannot agree with the contrast Sir John Myres has made between the 'liberal Shi'i doctrines of the Iranian region' and the 'uncompromising Sunni alternative of the Levant.'"
- 1288 LANKESTER, GRACE; PARES, LADY; and LANKESTER, DOROTHY. "The women of India today." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 202-9. Including a general survey, the conference at Arola, and some impressions of the younger generation.
- 1289 MANDELBAUM, DAVID G. "Hindu-Moslem conflict in India." *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 369-85. Analyzes the social, political, economic, and historical factors in India's communal problem, with the conclusion that India's social structure is the chief contributing cause.
- 1290 MATHEW, C. P. "Syrian Christians of Malabar." *Perspective* (Delhi) 2 (Ja '47) 46-53. The tradition of St. Thomas and the probability of its authenticity; history of the community through 16 centuries.
- 1291 MENON, T. K. N. "Present trends in Indian education." *Indian Rev.* 48 (Je '47) 293-5. An optimistic appraisal, appealing for the retention of English as the medium of expression for the educated classes.
- 1292 MURRAY, C. W. "Anthropomorphic crucifixes in Sinai." *Man* 47 (S '47) 128. Correspondence concerning cruciform images which are annually deposited on a tomb (not of a Moslem saint) by neighboring Bedouin women on the Egyptian-Palestine border.
- 1293 MURTY, P. N. "The federal court of India: its history and its work." *Perspective* (Delhi) 1 (O '46) 3-12. Genesis, jurisdiction, constitution, authority, rules, and work of the court. A compact and useful survey.
- 1294 NARBETH, E. GWENDOLINE. "Evangelism among women and girls in urban Algeria." *Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 266-77. A history of the work in Constantinople since 1922.
- 1295 PEROWNE, STEWART. "Life in Baghdad." *J. of the Royal Central Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 251-61. A description of aspects of Baghdad life to illustrate the process of Iraq's transition from a medieval to a modern independent state.
- 1296 H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE. "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya polyandry." *Man* 47 (S '47) 123-4. Summary of a lecture comparing the forms of polyandry found in Tibet and among the Toda and Tiya in southern India.
- 1297 AL-SUWAYFĪ, TĀHĀ. "Education in Kuwait." (in Arabic) *Al-Ba'thah* (Cairo) 1 (S '47) 14-17. A brief outline, with facts, figures, and program, of the present status of education in this little-known Arab sheikdom. The author is Director of Education in Kuwait.
- 1298 VALIUDDIN, MIR. "What is Sūfism?" *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 373-83. General discussion of Sufi philosophy.
- 1299 VON FURER-HAIMENDORF, C and E. "Notes on tribal justice among the Apa Tanis." *Man in India* (Ranchi) 26 (S-D '46) 181-95. A tribe of 20,000 in the Assam Himalayas, divided into patricians and slaves. Quarrels, claims, feuds, and punishment.
- 1300 VON FURER-HAIMENDORF, CHRISTOPH. "Primitive Tribes in an Indian State." *Illust. London News* 121 (Ag 16 '47) 190-3. An account of the work and plans of the Government of Hyderabad to improve the social and economic conditions of its aboriginal groups.

SCIENCE

- 1301 CHATTERJEE, D. "Influence of East Mediterranean region flora on that of India." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 13 (Jl '47) 9-11. 38 percent of Indian plants have migrated from foreign sources; 100 per cent identified as from the Mediterranean area.
- 1302 KRISHNA, S. and BADHWAR, R. L. "Aromatic plants of India — Part II." *J. of Scientific and Industrial Research* (Delhi) 6/Supplement (Mr '47) 25-46. Cruciferae, Capparidaceae, Resedaceae, Violaceae, Flacourtiaceae, Pittosporachal, Polygalaceae, Caryophyllaceae, Hypericaceae.
- 1303 KRISHNA, S. and BADHWAR, R. L. "Aromatic plants of India, Part III." *J. of Scientific and Industrial Research* (Delhi) 6 (Ap '47) 47-62. Grettiferae, Theaceae, Dipterocarpaceae.
- 1304 LOBET, MARCEL. "Avicenne, médecin arabe qui fut poète et philosophe." *Rev. Générale Belge* (Brussels) No. 18 (Ap '47) 868-75. An anecdotal account of the life of the physician-philosopher.
- 1305 SAYILI, AYDIN. "Ghāzān Khān's observatory." (in Turkish) *Belleten* 10 (O '46) 625-40. A discussion of the observatory built by the Mongol Ghāzān Khān at Şem (Sham) in the vicinity of Tabriz. Reference is made to other Islamic observatories of the Middle Ages.
- 1306 WOLFSON, H. A. "Arabic and Hebrew terms for matter and element, with especial reference to Saadia." *Jewish Quart. Rev. New Series* 38/1 ('47) 47-61.

See also: 1130, 1350, 1354.

ART

(*Archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri*)

- 1307 "The art of Iranian miniaturists." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) ME 47. Account of a reception held in London for three modern Iranian miniaturists; a brief description of some of their work.
- 1308 "Persian pottery from a new source: vases and a figure." (Illust.) *The Illust. London News* 121 (S 27 '47) 360-1. An interesting discovery at Gumbad-i-Kabuz in Persia of a well-preserved group of pottery. Some have inscriptions stating that they were made at Gurgan, a hitherto unknown center, and dates which fall between 1213 and 1223. The types are those already familiar from Rayy, Kashan, and Saveh.
- 1309 "Review of the year 1946." (Illust.) *Bull. of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 6 (Summer '47) 9. Briefly discusses acquisitions of the Near Eastern Department during 1946. The Anhalt carpet was the most important.
- 1310 ARTUK, IBRAHIM. "The Urtuqid Amir Balak and his tomb." (in Turkish) *Belleten* (Istanbul) 11 (Ja '47) 127-35. A detailed biography of Balak b. Bahram b. Urtuq (Artuk), together with the text of the inscription on his tomb dated 518 A.H., now preserved in the Damascus museum. (Two plates)
- 1311 BEN-HORIN, U. "Lady Hester Stanhope's excavations at Ascalon in 1815." (in Hebrew) *Bull. of the Jewish Pal. Exploration Soc.* 12 ('45-'46) 27-9. Hebrew translation of an eye-witness account in Arabic of the discovery and destruction of a colossal Roman statue.
- 1312 BERNSTAM, A. H. "Archaeological investigations in Kirghizia." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (New York) 30 (Ag '46) 65-74. Summary of a report made to the scientific committee of the Kirghiz SSR, Frunze, 1941, translated by M. N. Scheffer (15 figures and 1 map).
- 1313 ELISSEFF, NIKITA. "An alabaster water jar." *Bull. of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston) 45 (Je '47) 35-8. Discussion of an alabaster water jar with ritual ablutions, here attributed to the 17th century and the Turkish period of Egypt, and of a marble support with Kufic inscriptions of the 11th to 13th centuries A.D. and the Fatimid period of Egypt (2 figures).
- 1314 GANGOLY, O. C. "Influence of Indian art on central Asia." *Perspective* (Delhi) 2 (Ja '47) 14-25. The remains of Khotan and the neighboring sites; the propagation of Buddhist culture.
- 1315 HASAN, ZAKY M. "Some Persian lustre ceramics in Dr. Ali Pasha Ibrahim's collection." *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I Univ., European Section* 9 (My '47) 63-98 (with 18 plates). Catalog of 36 pieces dating from the 9th to the 17th century, many of them unpublished.
- 1316 KANDALAVALA, KARL. "Some metal images (from the B. N. Treasuryvala collection)." *Marg* (Bombay). 1/3 ('47) 66-76, 79-80, 87. Early medieval period — South India, Western India, and Nepal. Beautifully illustrated; descriptive notes.
- 1317 AL-KHAQANĪ, 'ALĪ. "Najaf and scholarly production." (in Arabic) *Al-Bayān* (Najaf, Iraq) No. 20-21 (Ap-My '47). States that there are in libraries in Najaf over 4,000 unpublished manuscripts, many of them of considerable importance. The author calls for an organized program, in-

- cluding financial aid, for the publication of these treasures. Article reproduced in *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* 6/21 (Je '47) 174-5.
- 1318 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* 60 (Ag '47) 587. New (1365 A.H.) aluminum-bronze issue of Morocco.
- 1319 KÖPRÜLÜ, ORHAN F. "Sheikh al-Islam Kara-Çelebi Zade Abdülâziz Efendi and the Müftü Suyu." (in Turkish) *Belleten* (Istanbul) 11 (Ja '47) 137-45. Text, transcription and brief commentary of Kara-Çelebi Zade's *vakfiye* relating to the fountains and water system drawn from Müftü Suyu (Mt. Olympus) at Bursa (Brusa). Of the inscriptions on the 40 fountains connected with this foundation only three or four remain. The author's system of transliteration is excellent and will be of interest to Turkish scholars.
- 1320 LANCASTER, CLAY. "Oriental forms in American architecture, 1800-70." (Illust.) *Art Bulletin* 29 (S '47) 183-93. Section II of this article is devoted to a discussion of the influence of Islamic architecture on American architecture of the 19th century. The inspiration came primarily from India by way of England.
- 1321 LANE, ARTHUR. "Early Islamic pottery in the collection of Sir Ernest Debenham." *Connoisseur* (London) 119 (Mr '47) 21-6, 59. Discusses specimen of Iraqi, Persian and Central Asian pieces of fine pottery from the 1st to 16th century in the Debenham collection, London. With 17 illust.
- 1322 MILLIKEN, WILLIAM M. "Byzantine jewelry and associated pieces." (Illust.) *Bull. of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 34 (S '47) 166-75. Describes a gold and enamel earring and suggests that it may be Egypto-Arabic work of the 11th century.
- 1323 NĀMĪ, KHALĪL, YAḤYĀ'. "On new South-Arabic inscriptions." (in Arabic) *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad University Arabic Section* 9 (My '47) 15-27. With four plates.
- 1324 RAHMANI, L. J. "Crusader and Mameluke coats of arms in catacomb no. 1 at Beth-Shearim." (in Hebrew) *Bull. of the Jewish Pal. Exploration Soc.* 12 ('45-'46) 20-3. Description of 19 crusaders' coats of arms, which can be assigned to the time of the last crusade.
- 1325 SCHROEDER, ERIC. "Islamic book art in the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design." *Studies, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence) 1 ('47) 65-79. Discussion of the Persian and Indian paintings, specimens of Persian calligraphy from Persia, Turkey and India, manuscripts and bookbindings in the museum of the School of Design, Providence.
- 1326 VAN GEYZEL, L. C. "The painting of George Keyt." *Marg* (Bombay) 1/3 ('47) 43-65. George Keyt is a contemporary Ceylonese artist, famous in India. His themes are largely drawn from Indian and Hindu life and legend; handsomely illustrated.
- 1327 WEIBEL, ADELE COULIN. "A Persian silk double cloth." (Illust.) *Bull. of the Detroit Inst. of Arts* 26 (47) 60. Briefly describes a Persian silk fabric woven in double cloth technique and assigns it to the period of Shah Abbas, ca. 1600 A.D. Believes that its perfection demonstrates the superiority of Persian weavers over all others.
- 1328 WEIBEL, ADELE COULIN. "Turkish velvet of the 16th century." (Illust.) *Bull. of the Detroit Institute of Art* 26 ('47) 61. Briefly describes a Turkish velvet, a recent gift to the museum and assigns it to the workshops of Brusa.

Book Review: 1444.

LANGUAGE

- 1329 AL-'AMMĀRĪ, 'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN. "The founder of the sciences of rhetoric—Ibn Khaldun's opinion thereon." (in Arabic) *Al-Risālah* (Cairo) 15 (Ag 18 '47) 902-4. Holds that in spite of the fact that Ibn Khaldūn overlooks him, 'Abd al-Qāhir and not Al-Sakāki was the father of Arabic rhetorical sciences.
- 1330 BAUSANI, ALESSANDRO. "Di una possibile origine dell' accentuazione sull'ultima sillaba in Persiano moderno." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 123-30. A rule going back to Firdausi has been broadened by analogy in modern Persian. A plausible and interestingly presented theory.
- 1331 BEGUINOT, FRANCESCO. "Recenti studi italiani sulla letteratura popolare cirenaica." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 117-23. An evaluation of Ester Panetta's important contributions to Benghazi Arabic, with some discussion of North African Arabic dialectology in general.
- 1332 BLAKE, R. P. "E. A. Speiser's *Introduction to Hurrian*." *J. American Oriental Soc.* 67 (Jl-S '47) 225-30. In his review of Speiser's book, Blake discusses Hurrian from the standpoint of the Caucasian languages, particularly Georgian. He finds many morphological and syntactic paral-

- lels which may be helpful in interpreting certain Hurrian phenomena.
- 1333 CERULLI, E. "Three Berta dialects in western Ethiopia." *Africa* (London) 17 (Jl '47) 157-69. Some notes on the phonetics and grammar of the Berta languages spoken by the Beni Shangul who live south of the Blue Nile and east of the former Sudan province of Dar Fung. Cerulli classifies Berta as a Sudanese language.
- 1334 PELLAT, C., and MUTIN, R. "Contribution à l'étude de la langue." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Mr-Apr '47) 54-5. (1) A propos de "mittu/muttu" (a Hamito-Semitic derivative?); (2) sur les noms du "mais" et du "sorgho" en arabe dialectal.
- 1335 RAGHU, VIVA. "Sanskrit element in Pushtu." *Indian Rev.* 48 (Jl '47) 359-60. Discussion of about a dozen words.
- 1336 TIKHONOV, D. "The Oriental Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1946." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR Oidel lit. i yaz.* 6/2 ('47). 167-70. A review of the activities of the Oriental Institute during 1946. The emphasis was on the lexicography of the Oriental languages and on comparative linguistics. It was planned to initiate a series of studies on the cultural interrelationships between the Soviet Union and the Near East.
- 1337 VARMA, SIDDHESHWAR. "Indian dialects in phonetic transcription." *J. of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal* 11/2 ('45) 91-6. The story of the north wind and the sun in Bhadarwāhi, Bhalesi, and Khaśāli, with phonetic and grammatical analysis.
- See also: 1306, 1323. Book Review: 1445.
- ### LITERATURE
- 1338 "De l'agriculture." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Ja-F '47) 9-15. Pertinent excerpts from the text and De Slane's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*.
- 1339 ABRAMSON, S. M. "Ethnographic topics in the Kirghiz epic 'Manas'." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 2 ('47) 134-54. The existence of the Kirghiz epic "Manas" was established toward the middle of the 19th century by the orientalist Chekan Valikhanov. This article presents a study of several of the episodes in "Manas" which contribute to the formation of an ethnological picture of the early Kirghiz, their manners and customs, culture and *Weltanschauung*. The author points to a relationship between "Manas" and the literary monuments of some Mongolian tribes.
- 1340 'ATTĀR, AHMAD 'ABD AL-GHAFŪR. "Some men of letters in the Hijaz." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Ap 10 '47) 31; (My 10 '47) 50-1. A series of short notices of contemporary Hijazi poets and authors, with some account of their works. Dates of birth are usually given.
- 1341 AL-BAKRĪ, M. H. "The epistle of al-Hāshimi and the apology of al-Kindī." (in Arabic) *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I Univ., Arabic Section* 9 (My '47) 29-49.
- 1342 AL-BAŞĪR, MUHAMMAD MAHDĪ. "Popular literature in Iraq." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* 1 (My 10 '47) 48-9. Deals mainly with popular love poetry, of which examples are quoted.
- 1343 BERCHER, LEON. "Ibn H'azm et son 'T'awq al-h'amāma'." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Ja-F '47) 3-6. A brief sketch of Ibn H'azm's bio-bibliography with an analysis of the T'awq. Bercher's French translation is scheduled to appear shortly.
- 1344 BERCHER, LEON. "Ibn H'azm's 'T'awq al-h'amāma fi 'l-ūfa wa'l-ullāf'." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Mr-Apr '47) 90-6. An excerpt from Bercher's French translation.
- 1345 BORATAV, PERTEV N. "Folklore collections in Gukorova." (in Turkish) *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (My-Je '47) 255-73. A report of results obtained from a combined linguistic and folklore field-trip undertaken in February 1947. Collections are listed and composite versions of four metrical folk narratives are printed.
- 1346 BORATAV, PERTEV N. "The present state of the folklore archive." (in Turkish) *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (My-Je '47) 323-7. A tabulation, under 13 headings, of the folklore materials of the Ankara archive. This supplements an earlier accounting which listed items obtained up to 1942. The archive now contains (e.g.) 2345 folktales and 246 riddles.
- 1347 CHAUDHURY, PRABASJIBAR. "Tagore and Croce." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* 12 (F-Apr '47) 277-85. A comparison of their aesthetic views. Concludes that both were thinkers but that Tagore was an artist as well.
- 1348 EDIP, KEMAL. "A few unknown poems of Fuzūli." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (My-Je '47) 315-22. Gives the texts of two hitherto unavailable *kasidas* and one *gazel* by the Azerbaijan poet.

- 1349 FAIZĪ, FAIZ-UL-HASAN. "A peep into the Wasāyā' and Siyāsāt Nāma of Nizām-ul-Mulk." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 391-407. Denies the authorship of Nizām al-Mulk.
- 1350 HASRAT, BIKRAMA JIT. "Muslim and Indian Sciences—III." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* 12 (F-Ap '47) 299-314. Parts I and II of this article appear in the Quart. 9, Part II (Ag-O '43). This article covers translations of Sanskrit works into Arabic and Persian.
- 1351 HOLDEN, C. L. "Sakuntala." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* 12 (F-Ap '47) 271-6. The literary qualities of the play judged by western standards.
- 1352 KRENKOW, F. "Al-'Āmidī." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 3-6. On a work of al-'Āmidī and a new biography and appreciation of al-'Āmidī, and a new biography and appreciation of Mutanabbi, by 'Alī b. Abul-'aziz al-Jurjānī.
- 1353 MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. "Devil's delusion." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 73-9; (Ap '47) 172-83. Translation of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talbis Iblīs*.
- 1354 NASHIF, ABDUL MALIK. "The Arabs and the Greek world." *Comparative Literary Studies* (London) 6/21-2 ('46) 26-8. Comparison of Greek and Arabic literature, without any reference to literary influences.
- 1355 NEMOY, LEON. "Some Arab tales of King Solomon." *Synagogue Light* (New York) 14/1 ('46) 8, 28-32; 14/2 ('46) 4-5, 15-16. A selection in English translation from the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of al-Kisā'ī.
- 1356 NEMOY, LEON. "Some bits of Arab wit and humor." *Synagogue Light* (New York) 14/8 ('47) 3-4, 10. Selections in English translation from various Arab works.
- 1357 NEMOY, LEON. "Some tales of the cock in Arab folklore." *Synagogue Light* (New York) 13/10 ('46) 3-4, 11. Selections in English translation from the *Kitāb al-wadīk* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.
- 1358 PELLAT, CHARLES. "Description de l'Occident musulman." *Bull. des Etudes Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Ja-F '47) 41-8. An excerpt from Pellat's forthcoming French translation of al-Muqaddasī's *Aḥsan al-taqāsim fī ma'rifaṭ al-aqālim*.
- 1359 STERN, M. "The authorship of the epistles of the Ikhwān as-Safā." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '47) 367-72. The authors were contemporaries of Abū Sulaimān al-Mantiqī and Abū Ḥayyān at-Tauḥīdī (ca. 1050 A.D.).
- 1360 ULUÇAY, M. ÇAGATAY. "The Maqālāt of Seyyid Hārūn." (in Turkish) *Belle-*
- ten* 10 (O '46) 749-78. Transliterated text and commentary on the Manisa copy of a manuscript relating to the legendary founding of Seydişehir by Seyyid Hārūn at the beginning of the 14th century. The ms. is dated 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.)
- See also: 1135, 1266, 1317, 1375. Book Reviews: 1389, 1390, 1391, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1410, 1413, 1427, 1434.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1361 "Arabic book production in Palestine." *Pal. Affairs* (New York) 2 (S '47) 93-4. A brief account of book publication, which is steadily increasing as literacy spreads. Some statistics are given.
- 1362 "Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum." *Bull. des Etudes Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Mr-Ap '47) 61. Texts edited by Père Maurice Bouyges, published by the Imprimerie Catholique in Beirut.
- 1363 "Bibliothèque arabe-française." *Bull. des Etudes Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Mr-Ap '47) 62. Both the 1st series (arabe classique) and the 2nd series (poésie populaire) under the direction of Henri Pérès.
- 1364 "Editions Fontana, à Alger." *Bull. des Etudes Arabes* (Algiers) 7 (Ja-F '47) 18-19. Thirty works published between 1895 and 1912. The Fonds Fontana has been acquired by "La Typo-Litho et Jules Carbonel."
- 1365 BEN-HORIN, U. "Bibliography of Prof. L. A. Mayer." *Bull. of the Jewish Pal. Exploration Soc.* 12 ('45-'46) 1-9.
- 1366 KRENKOW, F. "David Lopes, 1867-1944." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (Ja '47) 1-2.
- 1367 MYRES, J. L. "The J. of the Indian Anthropological Institute." *Man* 47 (Ag '47) 110. Notice of publication of a new series of the Institute's *Journal*, the first to appear since 1942.
- 1368 PÉRÈS, H. and SAMPÉRÉ, A. "Répertoire alphabétique des auteurs publiés à Fès de 1126 H (1714 A.D.) à 1377 H (1919)." *Bull. des Etudes Arabes* (Algiers). 7 (Mr-Ap '47) 63-70. Index of proper names in the *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fès*, published by Ben Cheneb and E. Lévi-Provençal in the *Revue Africaine*, 1921-2.

See also: 1395. Book Reviews: 1317, 1340.

BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARIES

- 1369 "Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswamy." *Indian Rev.* 48 (Jl '47) 342-5. "Some reminiscences and an appreciation", published just a month before Coomarswamy's death.
- 1370 "High Commissioner for Pakistan." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) I 47. A

brief bibliography of Sir Lawrence Grafftey-Smith, a veteran careerist in the British diplomatic service. He was stationed in the Near East, most recently in Saudi Arabia.

- 1371 'AZZĀM, 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN. "The adventures of a youth in the Western Desert." (in Arabic) *Al-Ālam al-'Arabī* 1 (My 10 '47) 14-15. An interesting account of 'Azzām Pasha's efforts as a youth to join the Turkish forces against the British during World War I, concluding with his successful escape across the Western Desert into Sanusi territory. The author is secretary of the Arab League.
- 1372 DUNLOP, D. M. "The strange case of Dr. Joseph Wolff." *J. of the Royal Central Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 320-33. This eccentric early 19th century missionary found his way into such Moslem fastnesses as Budhara, Kabul, and South Arabia.
- 1373 FYZEE, A. A. A. "Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, 1886-1941." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 21 (J '47) 37-47. Biography and appreciation of the great Indian lawyer.
- 1374 "IRĀQĪ" (Pseud.). "Rashid 'Āli al-Gaylani." *Al-Ālam al-'Arabī* (Cairo) 1 (Jl '47) 10. A brief, sympathetic sketch of the career of Rashid 'Āli, from his birth in 1895 to his leadership of the Iraqi revolt in 1941.
- 1375 KRENKOW, F. "Qutb ad-Din al-Ba'labakkī." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 20 (O '46) 341-4. On the life and works of a historian of the 7th century A. H.

ORIENTAL STUDIES

- 1376 CANARD, M. "Les études arabes en Russie—aperçu historique, I." *Rev. de la Méditerranée* 4 (Jl-Ag '47) 436-65. Russia's history has been largely bound up with her relations with the peoples of the Orient. This fact plus her geographical situation has been largely responsible for the early and sustained interest in Oriental studies. From 1880-1920, many Russian scholars were the outstanding world authorities in the various disciplines. This excellent study details the pre-revolution history of Arabic and Islamic studies, not only in the several universities and institutes, but in the ecclesiastical schools, museums, libraries, and the Academy of Sciences.
- 1377 RYCKMANS, G. "L'orientalisme en Belge." *Rev. Générale Belge* No. 23 (S '47) 724-38. Lacking the prod either of an empire in the Orient or a population with a keen interest in the Bible, Belgium

has nevertheless produced a number of scholars who have made a vital contribution to Oriental studies. This well-written article accords them their long overdue recognition.

- 1378 TURNER, R. L. "A new charter for Oriental and African studies in Great Britain." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 235-43. A review of the attempts made to expand these studies in Great Britain, culminating in the Scarborough Report. Prompt implementation is vital in order to secure the maximum benefit in human welfare. The Scarborough Report should be widely read and pondered by everyone interested in preventing World War III.
- See also: 1336. Book Review: 1387.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1379 "The land defence of India." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (S '47) I 44. Some comments on the history and organization of the army.
- 1380 AMBARTSUMIAN, V. A. "The work of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR." (in Russian) *Vestnik Akad. Nauk SSSR* 17 ('47) 9-12. An account by the President of the Academy of the projects in which the Academy is engaged. Founded in 1943, the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR comprises four sections: physico-mathematical and technical, biological, agricultural, and social.
- 1381 GHĀLĪ, EMILE. "The origins of the French press in Egypt." (in Arabic) *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (Cairo) 6 (Je '47) 134-9. An interesting and informative account of the *Courrier d'Égypte* and *La Décade Égyptienne*, two papers published by the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt. Contains in some detail a description of their contents, makeup and influence.
- 1382 MYRES, J. L. "Anthropological Society of Bombay." *Man* 47 (Je '47) 87. Note announcing the publication of a new series of the Society's *Journal* after an intermission of six years.
- 1383 PETROV, M. P. "Six years of the Turkmen section of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its most immediate problems." (in Russian) *Vestnik Akad. Nauk SSSR* 17/6 ('47) 13-17. An account of the Turkmen section of the USSR Academy of Science from its inception in 1940, of its contribution to the war effort, and its publications program in the five broad fields of botany, zoology, geology, physics and technology, history, and philology. Concludes with a draft of plans to be executed during the five year period, 1946-1950.

BOOK REVIEWS

- 1484 *Asia: Asian Relations Conference Book. Far Eastern Survey* 15 (Ag 13 '47) 180. (Adrian Mayer). Published by the Indian Council of World Affairs for the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, March-April, 1947. "Compiled as a souvenir for the conference of delegates. It contains short, illustrated articles on each Asian country—by different contributors."
- 1385 *Demographic studies and selected areas of rapid growth. Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47). (H. J. Fleure). Includes reports on India, Egypt and the Near East.
- 1386 *Egyptian trade index. Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) ME 45.
- 1387 *Report of the interdepartmental commission of enquiry in Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African studies. Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 464-5. (Richard N. Frye).
- 1388 ABBOT, NABIA. *Two queens of Baghdad. J. Royal Asian Soc.* 47/1-2 ('47) 106. (A. S. Tritton).
- 1389 AHMAD, NAFIS. *Muslim contribution to geography. Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 462-3. (Sidney Glazer).
- 1390 AKHTAR, QAZI AHMAD MIAN. *Studies: Islamic and Oriental. Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 301. (Wilfred C. Smith).
- 1391 ALI, SYED NAWAB. *Some moral and religious teachings of al-Ghazzali. Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 302. (Eric F. F. Bishop).
- 1392 ALPORT, CECIL. *One hour of justice. J. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47), 324-5. Exposes "the shocking conditions under which the poor live, and the disgraceful state of the hospitals" in Egypt.
- 1393 ASHKENAZI, TOVIA. *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du Nord* (Paris, 1938). *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 2 ('47) 254-5. (A. Pershitz). Ashkenazi's work is divided into three parts: the problems of nomadism as affecting the Palestinian Arab tribes, their mores, and their agricultural economy. The book is noteworthy, says the reviewer, for the abundant statistical data it contains and for the classification it draws up of the tribes of northern Palestine.
- 1394 BAMBATE, Haidar. *Visages de l'Islam. Rev. de Géog. Marocaine* (Rabat) 30 ('46) 189-90.
- 1395 BAQAI, I. H. *Books on Asia. Far Eastern Survey.* 16 (Ag 13 '47) 180. (Adrian Mayer). Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs for the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, March-April, 1947. A bibliography of 111 pages. "It includes general, political, economic and social lists of books on each country. By no means exhaustive, it is a useful reference list for everyday use."
- 1396 BERAUD-VILLARS, J. *Les Touareg au pays du Cid: les invasions almoravides en Espagne au XI^e et XII^e siècles. Rev. de Géog. Marocaine* (Rabat) 30 ('46) 188. (F. Gendre).
- 1397 BERG, L. S. *Studies in the history of Russian geographical discoveries. Geog. Rev.* 37 (O '47) 689-90. (Edward Ames). "Includes an attempt at estimating the long-term fluctuations in the height of the Caspian sea. . . this leads him to discuss the literature on the Caspian Sea beginning with Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus."
- 1398 BLUNT, WILFRED. *Desert hawk: Abd el-Kader and the French conquest of Algeria. Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 469-70. (Edward P. Lawton).
- 1399 BRODERICK, ALAN HOUGHTON. *Parts of Barbary. Man* 47 (S '47) 127. (Walter Fogg).
- 1400 CASEY, RIGHT HON. R. G. *An Australian in India. J. of Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 328-9. (W. Kirkpatrick). A vigorous discussion of Indian problems by an author who spent two years there as an administrator.
- 1401 CHANDRASEKHAR, S. *India's population: fact and policy. Geog. Rev.* 37 (O '47) 681. (Shannon McCune). The author "advocates the correction of the imbalance between 'extreme over-pressure on agriculture and the lack of industrialization,' though he warns that industrialization will not 'provide the panacea for all of India's economic ills'."
- 1402 DESPOIS, J. *Mission scientifique au Fezzan. Tome II. Géographie humaine. Polit. Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (My '47) 229. (Bernard Vernier).
- 1403 DUMAINE, JACQUES. *D'Ulysse à Eisenhower, ou l'Afrique du Nord à nouveau découverte. Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (My '47) 226-7. (Pierre Rondot).
- 1404 ELWIN, VERRIER. *Folk-songs of Chhat-igarh. J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Jl-S '47) 232. (W. Norman Brown).
- 1405 ENAN, MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH. *Ibn Khaldun, his life and work. Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 302-4. (Wilfred C. Smith).
- 1406 FAROUGHY, A. *Introducing Yemen. Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 466-7. (Richard H. Sanger).
- 1407 FARRUKH, OMAR A. *Ibn Tufail. J. Royal Asian Soc.* No. 1-2 ('47) 107. (A. S. Tritton).
- 1408 FOX, ERNEST F. *Travels in Afghanistan,*

- 1937-38, (New York, 1943). **Sovetskaya Etnografiya** No. 2 ('47) 255. (M. Gorsky). An account of a trip made by an American geologist to some of the hitherto unknown mountainous regions of Afghanistan. The work, according to the reviewer, is of some ethnological value, largely due to its excellent photographs.
- 1409 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. *Mayy Ziyāde, luci ed ombre. Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome) 12 ('46) 408-9. (E. Lator). An Italian translation of selections from the works of one of the best known modern Arabic authors.
- 1410 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. *Le Rubaiyyāt-traduzione. Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47). (E. Rossi).
- 1411 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. *Storia e civiltà musulmana. Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 181-2. (E. Rossi).
- 1412 GIBB, H. A. R. *Modern trends in Islam. J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Jl-S '47) 217-8. (G. L. Della Vida).
- 1413 GOITEIN, S. D. *Travels in Yemen. Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 130. (E. Rossi).
- 1414 GRIFFITHS, P. J. *The British in India. Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 442. (F. E. James); **J. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.** 34 (Jl-O '47) 330-2. "A logical statement of credit and debit. . . it suppresses nothing that is relevant." "An admirable basis for the study of Indian politics."
- 1415 GROUSSET, RÉNÉ. *Le conquérant du monde—vie de Gengis-Khan. Annales* (Paris) 2 (Ap-Je '47) 232-3. (Lucien Febvre).
- 1416 GUPTA, RAJ NARAIN. *Iran: an economic study. Gt. Brit. and the East* 63 (Ag '47) ME 44-5. Reviewer states: "A most informative study of present economic conditions in Iran."
- 1417 HAEFELI, LEO. *Die Beduinen von Beersheba*, (Luzern, 1939). **Sovetskaya Etnografiya** 2 ('47) 255. (A. Pershitz). A retelling of the *Kitāb al-Gada'bain al-Badw* by Aref el-Aref, Governor of Beersheba (Jerusalem, 1933), which deals with the origin of the Bedouins, their classification, economy, social organization, religion and legal system.
- 1418 HAMIDULLAH, MUHAMMAD. *The Muslim conduct of state. Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 304-5. (Eric F. F. Bishop).
- 1419 HODGKIN, R. A. *Sudan geography. Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 467. (John R. Randall).
- 1420 HOURANI, A. H. *Syria and Lebanon. Politique Etrangère* (Paris) 12 (My '47) 231-7. (Pierre Rondot). This careful analysis is well worth the attention of everyone who has read or will read Hourani's book, or who is interested in the political evolution of the Near East. The reviewer considers it a classic in the bibliography of the modern Orient; **J. of Mod. Hist.** 19 (Je '47) 163-4 (Harry N. Howard).
- 1421 HUTTON, J. H. *Caste in India. Internat. Affairs* 23 (Jl '47) 441-2. (F. Noyce); **Man** 47 (Je '47) 89. (W. B. Fagg). Students and a much wider public "will be in his debt for placing on accessible record not only an up-to-date and authoritative survey of the subject and its literature, but his own mature reflections on a complex problem, of which perhaps only an ex-Census Commissioner for India. . . can take a comprehensive all-India view"; **Far Eastern Survey** 16 (S 3 '47) 190. (Marian W. Smith).
- 1422 KAKADE, R. G., RAO, K. L. N. *Food control and cattle relief in Mysore. Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar). "Devotes a special chapter to 'cattle relief administration'."
- 1423 KONIKOFF, F. A. *Transjordan. Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 438. (M. G. Ionides).
- 1424 LIPKIN, S. *Manas, a Kirghiz epic; the great campaign.* (in Russian) *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk SSSR Otdel. lit. i yaz.* 6/2 ('47) 171-2. (S. Ye. Malov). The 9th century Kirghiz epic "Manas," the greatest monument to Kirghiz creative genius, has as its basic theme the military campaign in Afghanistan, Central Asia, and China. It reflects the struggle of the Kirghiz for their national existence.
- 1425 MAJUMDAR, R. C.; RAYCHAUDHURI, H. C.; DATTA, KAUKINKAR. *An advanced history of India. Contemporary Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 413. (J. Coatman). "This is easily the most valuable history of India for the serious student."
- 1426 MILLSAUGH, ARTHUR C. *Americans in Persia. Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 437-8. (A. K. S. Lambton); **Moslem World** 37 (O '47) 310-3. (Mehmed A. Simsar). The author is praised for his excellent analysis of the strength and weakness of Reza Shah and for the introductory section containing a review of the political events in Iran leading to the adoption of the Constitution of 1906.
- 1427 NYKL, A. R. *Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the old provençal troubadours. Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 135-6. (E. Rossi).
- 1428 OLIVERO, LUIGI. *Turchia senza harem. Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 131. (E. Rossi).

- 1429 PANIKKAR, K. M. *The basis of an Indo-British treaty*. *Internat. Affairs* 23 (Jl '47) 443. (F. E. James).
- 1430 PILLAI, SRI J. SIVASHUNMUGAM; SIVASWAMY, K. G.; SAMBASIVAM, S. *Legislative protection for the cultivating tenant and laborer*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar). Three addresses discussing the problems as they exist today under the ryotwari system of land-holding in Madras.
- 1431 QAIYUM, ABDUL. *Gold and guns on the Pathan frontier*. *J. of the Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 329-30. A heatedly anti-British discussion of the Pathan problem by a Moslem supporter of the Indian Congress Party.
- 1432 RAWLINSON, H. G. *A concise history of the Indian people*. *Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Jl '47) 447. (F. Noyce).
- 1433 RAWLINSON, H. G. *India, a short cultural history* (London, 1943). *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 2 ('47) 255-6. (M. Kudriavtzev). Rawlinson gives in compact form a general picture of the evolution of India's spiritual and material history. He neglects the last two centuries, which are of paramount importance, not only politically but for their marking the beginning of a closer relationship on the part of India with European culture.
- 1434 ROUILLARD, CLARENCE DANA. *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*. *Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 306-10. (Walter L. Wright, Jr.)
- 1435 SHARP, SIR HENRY. *Good-bye India*. *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Jl '47) 282. (Edwin Haward); *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 467-8. (G. Eleanor Herrington); *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (S 24 '47) 203. (Holland Hunter). "The author of these reminiscences served as an official of the Government of India from early 1890's through the first world war."
- 1436 SHEJWALKAR, TRYAMBAK S. *Panipat: 1761*. *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Jl-S '47) 231-2. (Holden Furber).
- 1437 SIVASWAMY, K. G. *Caste and standard of living versus farm rents and wages*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar).
- 1438 SIVASWAMY, K. G. *Farm tenancy under ryotwari holdings in Madras*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar). "A history of legislation affecting the rights of tenants under the ryotwari system of land-holding in Madras."
- 1439 SIVASWAMY, K. G., KAKADE, R. G. *Food control in Hyderabad, Coorg, Goa and Kolhapur*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar). "Contains interesting discussions on experiments in 'no-minimum' levy (in procurement), grain banks, rationing and the activities of the Hyderabad Commercial Corporation."
- 1440 SIVASWAMY, K. G., ed. *Khadi versus textile mills*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (O 15 '47) 215. (Subhas K. Dhar). "A compilation of the authoritative views of both the proponents and opponents of khadi, the home- and hand-spun cloth of India. . . . The statistical materials in the book will greatly help the reader form an independent judgment."
- 1441 SPEISER, EPHRAIM A. *The United States and the Near East*. *Polit. Science Quart.* (New York) 62 (Jl '47) 317-29. (Edwin M. Wright).
- 1442 SQUIRE, SIR JOHN. *A Dutch traveller in southern Arabia*. *Illust. London News* 211 (=121) (Jl 19 '47) 74. Includes an account of the two journeys of Col. D. Van Der Meulen to the Hadhramaut in 1931 and 1939, with a brief review of his book, *Aden to the Hadhramaut*, which was written about the latter journey.
- 1443 STRAUSS, E. *A history of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mameluk dynasty*, (Vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1944). *Historia Judaica* (New York) 8 ('46) 200-4. (Leon Nemoy).
- 1444 THOMPSON, G. CATON. *The tombs and moon temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)*. *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ap-Je '47) 132-5. (Carlo Conti Rossini).
- 1445 TRIMINGHAM, J. SPENCER. *Sudan colloquial Arabic*. *Moslem World* 37 (O '47) 305-6. (Eric F. F. Bishop).
- 1446 TWITCHELL, K. S. *Saudi Arabia*. *J. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 324. (Eric Macro). "Authoritative and scholarly"; *Polit. Science Quart.* (New York) 62 (Je '47) 319-20. (Edwin M. Wright).
- 1447 TYAN. *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*. *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1-2 ('47) 125-6. (A. S. Tritton).
- 1448 VAN DER MEULEN, D. *Journey in southern Arabia*. *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (S '47) ME 48.
- 1449 VENKATASUBBIAH, H. *Asia in the modern world*. *Far Eastern Survey* 16 (Ag 13 '47) 180. (Adrian Mayer).
- 1450 ZWEMER, S. M. *Heirs of the prophets*. *Middle East J.* 1 (O '47) 465. (Edwin M. Wright); *J. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.* 34 (Jl-O '47) 333. "An account of the administrative organization of Islam."

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Al-Adab wa-al-Fann (London)
Africa (Rome)
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Africa (Madrid)
Al-Hilāl (Cairo)
African Studies (Johannesburg)
African World (London)
American Anthropologist (Menasha, Wis.)
American Historical Review (Richmond, Va.)
American Journal of Archaeology (New York)
American Journal of International Law
(Washington)
American Journal of Sociology (Chicago)
American Perspective (Washington)
American Quarterly on the Soviet Union
(New York)
American Sociological Review (Washington)
Annals of the American Academy of Political and
Social Sciences (Philadelphia)
Anthropos (Ascona, Switzerland)
Armenian Quarterly (New York)
Ars Islamica (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
Āryānā (Kabul)
Asia and the Americas (New York)
Asiatic Review (London)

Belleten (Istanbul)
Bolshevik (Moscow)
British Museum Quarterly (London)
Bulletin des Études Arabes (Algiers)
Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts
(Boston)

Bulletin of the Chicago Art Institute (Chicago)
Bulletin of the History of Medicine (New York)
Bulletin of the Iranian Institute (New York)
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum (New York)
Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
(London)
Burlington Magazine (London)

Catholic Historical Review (Washington)
Commentary (New York)
Contemporary Review (London)

Department of State Bulletin (Washington)

Economic Geography (Worcester, Mass.)
L'Égypte Contemporaine (Cairo)
English (London)
En Terre d'Islam (Lyon, France)
L'Ethnographie (Paris)

Far Eastern Survey (New York)
Filmindia (Bombay)
Foreign Affairs (New York)
Fortnightly (London)
Fortune (New York)

Geographical Journal (London)
Geographical Magazine (London)
Geographical Review (New York)
Great Britain and the East (London)

Hindustan Review (Patna)

Idea (Rome)

- Illustrated London News (London)
 India and World Affairs (Calcutta)
 India Quarterly (Delhi)
 Indian and Eastern Engineer (Calcutta)
 Indian Engineering (Calcutta)
 Indian Forester (Lahore)
 Indian Home (Bombay)
 Indian Journal of Adult Education (Delhi)
 Indian Journal of Social Work (Bombay)
 Indian Market (Bombay)
 Indian Medical Journal (Madras)
 Indian Medical Record (Calcutta)
 Indian Merchants' Chamber (Bombay)
 Indian Readers' Digest (Bombay)
 Indian Review (Madras)
 Institut des Belles-Lettres et Arabes (Damascus)
 International Affairs (London)
 International Affairs: Journal of the Indian Institute (New Delhi)
 International Journal (Toronto)
 International Labour Review (Geneva)
 Isis (Cambridge, Mass.)
 Izvestiya Geograficheskogo Obshchestva (Moscow)
 Izvestiya Akademii Nauk — Seriya Geografii i Geofiziki (Moscow)
 Izvestiya Akademii Nauk — Otdeleniye Ekonomii i Prava (Moscow)
 Izvestiya Akademii Nauk — Otdeleniye Literaturi i Yazika (Moscow)
 Izvestiya Akademii Nauk — Istorii i Filosofii (Moscow)
 Jewish Frontier (New York)
 John Rylands Library Bulletin (Manchester, England)
 Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore, Md.)
 Journal of the Art Institute (Chicago)
 Journal of the Cleveland Museum (Cleveland)
 Journal of Geography (Chicago)
 Journal of Modern History (Chicago)
 Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
 Journal of Political Economy (Chicago)
 Journal of Politics (Gainesville, Fla.)
 Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences (New York)
 Journal of the Middle East Society (Jerusalem)
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 Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (Jerusalem)
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
 Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society (London)
 Journal of the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, Md.)
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 Al-Kitāb (Cairo)
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 Man (London)
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 Middle East Journal (Washington)
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 Moslem World (Hartford, Conn.)
 Al-Muktataf (Cairo)
 Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī (London)
 National Geographic Magazine (Washington)
 Nauka i Zhizn' (Moscow)
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 New Palestine (New York)
 New Times (Moscow)
 Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society (London)
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 Orientalia (Rome)
 Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Rome)
 Oriente Moderno (Rome)
 Pacific Historical Review (Berkeley, Calif.)
 Palestine Affairs (New York)
 Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London)
 Politica Estera (Rome)
 Political Quarterly (London)
 Political Science Quarterly (New York)
 Politique Étrangère (Paris)
 Review of Politics (South Bend, Ind.)
 Revue de Géographie Marocaine (Rabat)
 Revue de la Méditerranée (Algiers)
 Revue du Caire (Cairo)
 Revue Egyptienne de Droit International (Alexandria, Egypt)
 Revue Generale Belge (Brussels)
 Revue Historique (Paris)
 Revue Numismatique (Paris)
 Round Table (London)
 Ruzgār-e-No (London)
 Science and Culture (Calcutta)
 Science and Society (New York)
 Social Service Quarterly (Bombay)
 Southwest Journal of Anthropology (Albuquerque, N. M.)
 Sovetskaya Etnografya (Moscow)
 Sovetskaya Kniga (Moscow)
 Speculum (Cambridge, Mass.)

- Sumer (Baghdad)
 Teaching (Madras)
 Tisco Review (Bombay)
 Tomorrow (London)
 Tomorrow (New York)
 Türk Dil ve Coğrafya Dergisi (Istanbul)
 Vestnik Akademii Nauk (Moscow)
 Vestnik Drevnei Istorii (Moscow)
 Visva-Bharati Quarterly (Calcutta)
- Vneshnyaya Torgovlya (Moscow)
 Voprosy Istorii (Moscow)
- World Affairs (London)
 World Affairs (Washington)
 World Affairs Interpreter (Los Angeles)
 World Review (London)
 World Today (London)
- Yädgär (Tehran)

ABBREVIATIONS

ENGLISH	Mag., Magazine	ARABIC
Acad., Academy	Mod., Modern	K., Kitāb
Amer., American	Mus., Museum	Maj., Majallah, Majallat
Bull., Bulletin	Natl., National	ITALIAN
Cent., Central	Numis., Numismatic	Mod., Moderno
Contemp., Contemporary	Orient., Oriental	RUSSIAN
Dept., Department	Pal., Palestine	Akad., Akademii
East., Eastern	Philol., Philological	Fil., Filosofii
Geog., Geographical	Polit., Political	Ist., Istorii
Gt. Brit., Great Britain	Quart., Quarterly	Izvest., Izvestiya
Hist., Historical	Res., Research	Lit., Literaturi
Illust., Illustrated	Rev., Review	Otdel., Otdeleniye
Inst., Institute	Soc., Society	Ser., Seriya
Internat., International	Stud., Studies	Yaz., Yazika
J., Journal	Trans., Transactions	

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